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Statement on Commitment to Helsinki Principles

AU1609140290 Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 16 Sep 90

["Statement of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA on Albania's Participation in the CSCE"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 15 (ATA)—In its meeting of September 15 1990, the Council of Ministers of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania], after listening to the report by the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, on our country's participation in the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the steps made in this direction, issued the following statement:

Proceeding from the desire to join in the process of European cooperation and security as well as from the fact that the changes made and that are actually being made to the Albanian legislation allow the application of the principles of the Helsinki charter and of the decisions of the CSCE, the Albanian Government expresses its readiness and commitment to accept these principles and decisions adopted.

The Council of Ministers assigned the minister of foreign affairs of the PSRA to make this statement known to all the states participating in the CSCE and demand Albania's participation with complete rights in the coming conferences and meetings of CSCE beginning with the meeting of the foreign ministers in New York, which will prepare the summit meeting in Paris in November this year.

The Albanian Government hopes that it will find the necessary understanding and will enjoy the full support of all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Carcani Receives Mexican Senate Delegation

AU1409120190 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Tirana, September 13 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, received at the seat of the Prime Minister's Office on September 13 before noon the delegation of the Senate of the Mexican United States headed by Senator Alfredo Toski Fernandez de Lara and made up of Senators Alvara Salazar Lozano and Custino Delgado Caloca.

Attending were Sokrat Plaka, deputy foreign minister, and other comrades.

After wishing them welcome, Comrade Adil Carcani had a warm conversation with them. He greeted the Mexican friends on behalf of the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia. In the course of the meeting he pointed among other things to the friendly relations existing between Albania and Mexico and the possibilities to expand and materialize them further in the future in all the domains. We consider the visit of your delegation to Albania, he said, as Mexico's friendly acts towards our country. Although far from each other, we are united by the struggles for freedom and independence, prosperity, for social progress. He made an expose to the situation in our country and spoke of the century-long traditions of the Albanian people, their freedom, peace-loving and democratic spirit.

After pointing to the great transformations that have taken place in the course of post-liberation in all the fields under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, Comrade Adil Carcani dwelt on the fresh developments in Albania as well as on the measures adopted to deepen the process of the further democratization in all the fields of life, to introduce the new economic mechanism, the work done to improve our socialist legislation, the election mechanism for deputies to the People's Assembly, etc. Dwelling on the peaceful foreign policy and cooperation of Albania, he spoke of the international activity of our country, its contribution to the creation of an atmosphere of peace, cooperation, and understanding in the Balkans. Comrade Adil Carcani underscored the positive developments in Europe and Albania's commitment in strengthening European security and cooperation, to render its contribution to this process. [passage omitted]

Deputy Foreign Minister Kapllani Visits Romania

AU1609141890 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 16 (ATA)—At the invitation of the secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry of Romania, Romulus Neagu, the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, paid a short visit to Bucharest on September 14.

On the same day official talks began between the Albanian foreign deputy minister and the Romanian secretary of state. During the talks opinions were exchanged on the hitherto development of the relations between Albania and Romania, on the possibility of their further cooperation especially in the economic and trade, technical and scientific, cultural fields, etc.

During the meeting the conviction and the common desire was expressed to further promote these relations. Likewise, during the meeting views were exchanged also on developments of the current international situation.

Attending the talks was also the ambassador of the PSR of Albania in Bucharest, Piro Vito.

On September 15, the minister of foreign affairs of Romania, Adrian Nastase, received the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani.

During the meeting, they evaluated the traditional links between the Albanian people and the Romanian one and

expressed their common desire for the further development of the relations between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest. They also laid the stress on the need to intensify the efforts to carry the Balkan process forward. Likewise, views were exchanged on various international problems and particularly on the European processes.

Returns From Visit 16 Sep

AU1609190390 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, returned home today from Romania, where he took part in the meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Bucharest and also paid an official visit.

Foreign Media 'Disinformation' Protested

AU1409130490 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 10 Sep 90 p 4

[Artan Vani article: "The Art of Disinformation in the Service of Dark Policies"]

[Text] It is now well known that the media are playing an ever greater role in social, political, economic, cultural, and scientific life. The public is quickly and directly informed through the press and broadcasting about global developments taking place today. Apart from this beneficial role of the media, however, it is becoming ever more apparent that the media are not uncommonly used as tools, and are put in the service of the dark policies pursued by certain circles.

The well-known French publicist Michel Castex, president of the editors' association of the AFP news agency, recently wrote the book "A Lie as Big as the Century." This book refers to the propaganda attack leveled against Albania at the beginning of this year by the media in Yugoslavia, Greece, and some Western countries with the aim of exerting pressure and creating a state of anarchy and discontent, involving open calls for the overthrow by force of the power of the people in Albania. In this book, he describes the entire propaganda scenario, including the calls of Sebastianos [metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox Church] at Konitsa, the sensational news about the 400,000 Vorioipirotes ["Northern Epirotes," Greek term for the Greek minority in Albania], the "40,000 prisoners," "the corpses hung in the squares of Tirana, Fier, and Vlore in order to scare people," and all the other fictions concocted in the kitchens of Belgrade and carried by TANJUG and in the newspapers POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES.

As this serious writer affirms himself, "The Western press, which first referred to the Yugoslavs, later began to dissociate itself; the Yugoslav fiddle has recently been playing solo, but at an increasingly frenzied tempo. The West is no longer charmed into a state of blind enthusiasm.... The Romanian scenario in Albania did not work."

BORBA itself was forced to admit that "if disturbances did take place, the most recent ones were not as extensive as was claimed abroad." "Is BORBA perhaps a comic paper?" wonders Michel Castex in this connection. Many television crews gathered at border points, but the picture radically changed following interviews with travelers passing through. The book "A Lie as Big as the Century" met with a considerable response among serious journalists in Europe. The French writer, journalist, and radio producer Aris Faquin, referring to this book in TA NEA on 8 August, admits that Michel Castex "has exposed a real orgy of disinformation. At the whim of journalists, bogus information supplanted honest and unbiased reporting. A sick desire to see anything being destroyed usurped the place of serious analysis or any interest in anything being put to rights. Television reports ended up as exhibitions of corpses."

In the middle of this confusion and disinformation, a television crew from the French State Television's Channel One came to Albania and carried a live report from Shkoder, realistically and objectively describing the quiet and normal situation in Albania. The French public followed this report with interest. On 22 January, J. Oros, a correspondent from the Hungarian private radio station "Newsreel" filed a report about a hail of automatic rifle fire in Tirana, which was immediately picked up by a large number of news agencies and newspapers. It was, however, the Hungarian Embassy in Tirana and the journalist in question himself who denied the news on the following day.

As we know, however, disinformation pays, and is highly valued by those with an interest in it. The foreign press even began to spread sensations about the kings of Eastern European countries who, roused from their long sleep in their medieval castles, began to search for their former realms. Mihai of Romania, Simeon II of Bulgaria, Aleksandar of Yugoslavia (alongside the princesses of Tsar Nikola of Montenegro) all woke up. The media inundated Leka Zogu with interviews as he set off from Johannesburg on his "historic mission to liberate" the Albanian people. A veritable farce of royal specters was played out on television screens, produced by broadcasting stations that consider themselves serious!! All business, sensationalism, and disinformation of public opinion.

Months went by, and the media serving certain anti-Albanian circles resumed their frenzied attacks against Albania. This time the fabrications were of the most monstrous kinds. The events of 2 July in Tirana were amplified into "a hideous massacre!" Hundreds of journalists and television crews tried to flood into Albania in order to market from Tirana their bogus products. It was those very journalists who were so outspoken about the principles of Helsinki, noninterference in the internal affairs of others, and the right of every people to choose their own political system who, in practice—in contrast to their statements—tried to intervene, supposedly in the name of democracy and freedom of the press, in order to impose their own ideas. In this case, no more attention was paid to the ethics of journalism. It was the "fate" of the

Austrian journalist Wilfrid Seywald to become famous in European journalistic circles and to grow rich from his business. Now transformed into a disinformation center and violating the principles of the ethics of journalism, even though he had been invited by our news agency as part of its cooperation with the Austrian news agency APA, he began to sell the most sensational news and commentaries to newspapers, magazines, and other news agencies. He described the evening strollers on Martyrs of the Nation Boulevard as a 10,000-strong demonstration. Many journalists fell into the trap of the unscrupulous manipulation of such facts. A Spanish journalist who was in Tirana complained that her paper's editors had unfairly inserted in her report news taken from other agencies. This is not the first time that this has happened to journalists. Meanwhile, breaking every international norm, the producers of Belgrade Television hastily recorded the film shown on our television about the people sheltering in the embassies, and then added their own kind of commentary and sold it to Western television stations at high prices, as if it were their own. It was later discovered to have been a simple recoding of Albanian Television itself, and that everybody had been taken in by a trick. The Machiavellis of modern journalism turn up in all hues.

The scenarios of publicity and politics continue. The Albanian citizens who left through the embassies for France, Italy, and Germany were given wide publicity in the media. They were enthusiastically welcomed by personalities of these countries, including foreign ministers and deputy foreign ministers, and the press wrote about "political dissidents," "persecuted people," and the like. The mass media were then forced to assert the opposite, and deny what they wrote earlier. Later, the same newspapers, magazines, and radio stations began to accuse not Albania but the so-called Albanian "refugees," and to talk about their "disillusionment," their "behavior," "their lost illusions," etc. In the FRG, ordinary people and also various representatives of the laender are now criticizing the government and the Foreign Ministry for solving the Albanian "refugee question" in this way.

Despite these repeated setbacks, certain political and propaganda circles are continuing their campaign against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In this competition for the most outlandish invention, there is now talk about the "diplomatic ghetto" in Tirana and other such fictions (such as Sebastianos' recent calls about the so-called "Vorioipirotes") which aim to create confusion, divide our unity, and to halt or turn back the inexorable and irreversible process of the further democratization of the county's life which is taking place in Albania.

Albania is not frightened by blackmail and pressure, or by the fictions and inventions of disinformation. She marches undaunted on the road her people themselves have chosen, following her own historical traditions, always advancing toward greater cooperation with the peoples of the world. The measures taken to improve the legislation, the new economic mechanism, the law on protecting foreign investments in Albania, the law on citizens' right to obtain passports and visas for foreign travel, and many other measures testify clearly to the correct road and independent policy Albania is following and her correct road toward social progress in defense of her freedom, independence, and national sovereignty.

Gegprifti Speaks at Peze Anniversary Conference

AU1609142090 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 16 (ATA)—On September 15, the people of Tirana District celebrated the 48th anniversary of the first antifascist national-liberation conference, convened in Peze on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) [Albanian Workers Party] and of the glorious and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally.

Thousands of people went to Peze to celebrate this event of great historic importance, which laid the foundations of our people's unity in the national-liberation front and of the people's power.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the District Party Committee, Xhelil Gjoni; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Llambi Gegprifti, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee Pirro Kondi and Qirjako Mihali; the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu; the members of the party Central Committee, Haxhi Lleshi, Spiro Koleka, and Pilo Peristeri, and other comrades.

Party and state leaders and veterans laid bouquets of flowers by the monument of the people's hero, Myslim Peza. Homage was paid and wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves of the Peze District. Comrades Xhelil Gjoni and Llambi Gegprifti laid the wreath on behalf of the party Central Committee.

A rally was organised in the square in front of the monument devoted to the Peze conference.

Comrade Llambi Gegprifti greeted those present on behalf of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Council of Ministers, of the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania] and of the beloved leader of our party and state, Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally. The national-liberation struggle led by the party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, he said among others, made the greatest overthrow, the most radical revolutionary transformation for our homeland and people.

Further on he pointed out that the Peze conference convened in such historic moments, when the party, since its founding had laid down the indispensability of the unity of the whole Albanian people and their organisation in the struggle against the invaders as a decisive condition for the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

The other greatest victory, the most powerful weapon of our people for the organisation of the struggle, the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland, has its foundations in the Peze conference as well.

Then, he spoke of the great revolutionary changes and transformations that have taken place in our homeland. He pointed to the enthusiasm aroused among the whole people by the important decisions of the 9th, 10th, and 11th plenums of the party CC [Central Committee], which consistent in the general line, carry forward the development of the country in conformity with the new conditions and present situations, promoting democracy, developing the initiative of the masses, augmenting production and uplifting the people's wellbeing. They make us more clear the perspective towards which our glorious party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head lead us with wisdom and determination.

In conclusion, Comrade Llambi Gegprifti said: All the successes and victories attained are closely linked with our party, with the correct Marxist-Leninist line, with the steel-like unity of the people round it. Therefore, we all should be vigilant to safeguard this unity, because in this way we safeguard the country's freedom and independence, implementing with consistency the tasks set by the party and our beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Kico Mustaqi Speaks To Army Veterans

AU1609140790 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 16 (ATA)—On September 15, in one of the halls of the central house of the People's Army in the capital, the Ministry of People's Defence and the National Committee of the Albanian People's War Veterans organised a meeting with veteran cadres of the Army.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and minister of the people's defence, Kico Mustaqi; the member of the party Central Committee, Prokop Murra; the secretary general of the National Committee of the Albanian People's War Veterans, Myqerem Fuga, and other comrades.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, of the Ministry of the People's Defence and of the general commander of the Armed Forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally, the participants were greeted by Comrade Kico Mustaqi, who thanked them for the work they continue to carry out and their readiness, rendering their contribution to the field of defence, education and to the field of social relations and socialist construction.

As all the people, the Army too, he said, is working to put into life the important decisions of the latest plenums of the party CC [Central Committee] and the precious instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, which have created a powerful revolutionary and optimistic atmosphere. In all this process of profound transformations carried out in the economic, political and social life, takes part also the Army, which is aware of the fact that they will bring about the progress of the country and the strengthening of the Army and its defence potential.

Speaking of the application of democracy in the Army, Comrade Kico Mustaqi said that our goal is to realize that democracy in the Army has to do mainly with the improvement and strengthening of the relations cadre-masses, with the encouragement of a comprehensive thought of the soldiers, cadres, youngsters and communists in finding the best ways, so as to always have an excellent readiness and preparation.

The party and people, he said, are determined to defend at all costs the attained victories and continue with determination the road of socialism, the road defined by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, to defend the people's power, freedom and independence.

The participants that took the floor at the meeting voiced their satisfaction on the care the party shows for them, on the successes our People's Army has attained and attains in sharpening the vigilance and military readiness for the defence of our victories.

Zhelev Addresses Assembly on Forming Government

AU1409113390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0803 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Address to the Grand National Assembly" by President Zhelyu Zhelev at the Grand National Assembly building in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed Presidium, esteemed National Assembly deputies, ladies and gentlemen, in amending the Law on Political Parties, I submitted a draft law on the depoliticization of the Army, the militia organs, the courts of justice, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The meaning of this draft law is to accomplish the final, the real, and formal separation of party and state, which represents a major and genuine step forward toward the democratization of our political system, considering that it is aimed at the disintegration and dismantling of the very backbone which supported the totalitarian system, namely, the merging of party and state under all structural, cadre, and financial aspects.

However, the importance of this step appears even greater in the context of the opportunities it is opening for the future in connection with adopting other, more specific laws, such as the laws on the militia, the Army, and so forth.

During the period under review I met representatives of all these major institutions, namely, the Army, the militia, the courts of justice, the Prosecutor's Office, and with representatives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. At each meeting I found understanding for the idea of depoliticization and all my interlocutors seemed to realize the requirement for depoliticization so that the aforementioned institutions may be transformed from narrow party institutions, where the nomenklatura of one single, monopolist party prevailed, into real state and nationwide institutions. This is no longer a formal question, because by implementing the depoliticization of the militia for example, by transforming it into a national institution, by strictly determining its code of regulations and rights through the new law on the militia, we shall transform the profession of militiamen into a highly respected profession and the militia into a highly respected institution. When the militia, or the police, as it will presumably be called, embodies the law and nothing but the law, when this institution strictly adheres to the law, the entire population will identify itself with it. In this case it will no longer be necessary to call it a people's militia, or people's police, it will be a people's institution because it will enjoy the people's support.

The same applies to the Army, where the nomenklatura officers' and commanders' staff as such actually represented a great danger to the people's security. By modernizing the Army, by transforming it into a contemporary, professional army, by liberating it from the burden of the party, we shall consolidate its prestige, because a people who do not love and do not respect their own army cannot be forced to respect an alien army. This was also confirmed by historical experience.

The question of depoliticization has another aspect. Without permitting myself to give advice and even less to interfere in the inner-party affairs of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], let me at least make the following remark: The depoliticization of the institutions in question is of tremendous importance for the BSP itself. If it is really aspiring and striving to become a contemporary, modern party of the Western type, its separation from the state should be inevitable. The first thing it should try to do in this case is to get rid of all structural, financial, and other forms of being merged with the state, which, because of their very essence, burden the party with a totalitarian nature, preventing it from turning into a real political party.

The fact that I am submitting this draft law provides me with an opportunity to address the Grand National Assembly. This privilege is granted to me by the country's Constitution. I have no intention of comprehensively assessing the work of the National Assembly. I have no right to do so, either. This assessment is the sole prerogative of the constituents who have voted for the National Assembly deputies and of the very National Assembly deputies who are entitled to evaluate their own work.

Nevertheless, I take the liberty of expressing some considerations and some remarks which I think could be useful for parliament's work. The fact that some of them are of a critical nature should by no means be regarded as an expression of disrespect for the Grand National Assembly, or even as a disparaging attitude toward it.

The public's critical attitude toward the work of the Grand National Assembly is increasingly strengthening. This is apparent from newspaper articles, from conversations with different representatives of our public, and from public opinion polls, even if they do not fully reflect nationwide views. One of the these polls, for example, shows that nearly 80 percent of those polled evaluated the Grand National Assembly negatively; they are dissatisfied with its work, especially with what it has failed to accomplish for the time being. Naturally, this also reflects some lack of understanding for parliamentary work. Numerous people think that the efficient work of the National Assembly can only be guaranteed by resuming the procedures of the totalitarian past, when the adoption of the agenda, along with voting, and counting of votes did not take more than a few minutes.

Some people have a certain nostalgia for that type of parliament, which was similar to an aquarium, where the deputies, as Radoy Ralin wrote in his satirical essay, refresh their views like fish. This kind of people do not realize that, for the first time in over five decades, Bulgaria has a normal working parliament, a parliament where people are discussing real issues, where real debates are taking place, a parliament where there are

ovations and protests, where some deputies are whistling and others leave the hall, or stamp their feet before the eyes of the entire population and under the permanent control of their constituents. For a normal country with an established parliamentary system, with a normal and stable economy, this would be a normal and normally functioning parliament.

However, the fact is that ours is an abnormal country today, that we have no established multiparty system as yet. Our economy is deeply affected by a crisis which is permanently producing social tension. Our country requires prompt, radical changes and reforms both in the political and in the economic spheres. In a country such as ours, parliament should indefatigably engage in passing new laws on which the implementation of reforms should be based. For such an abnormal country, living under abnormal circumstances, the normal activities of parliament, with all the attributes of parliamentary activities, represent an (?off-limits territory) and a dangerous luxury, and this precisely evokes the population's broad discontent with the work of the Grand National Assembly. People request specific results from the work of parliament, and not a political show which can be watched on television and heard on the radio, and they are essentially right.

However, regardless of how entertaining the debates, the mutual attacks and skirmishes, the political accusations and angry exchanges of view may be, parliament is parliament after all. It is a legislative organ and not a political theater, and a parliament is expected to make laws.

From precisely this point of view, numerous critical remarks could be addressed against the recent and present work of our parliament regarding its style and method of work. I do not claim to describe exactly what the Grand National Assembly should represent, and even less would I dare to prescribe exact rules of work to you, that is impossible, and it is certainly not my prerogative.

Nevertheless, I will take the liberty of saying exactly what a parliament should not be, in my view, and which elements of its work should not be considered positive.

It is inappropriate, for example, for members of parliament to fail to recognize the difference between the National Assembly and a public rally, and instead of engaging in constructive and businesslike debates about draft laws, to deliver political propaganda speeches, or pronounce verdicts like public prosecutors against the opposing side.

It does not favorably reflect on the activities of a parliament when debates on procedural questions require as much or even more time than the discussion of essential issues; it does not favorably reflect on the activities of a parliament when the members are bored by debates on draft laws, and openly demonstrate their boredom by going out to smoke and drink coffee, as a result of which, amazed television viewers watch how the hall is drastically emptied, while the deputies return immediately and the hall becomes animated as soon as someone commits a blunder, or a provocative remark is made which promises to develop into a political scandal.

It is not an expression of special political education when certain National Assembly deputies take the floor on procedural matters with the intention of delivering an extensive speech on essential matters which, in the majority of cases, is not related to the agenda. It is not very complimentary for a parliament when the speakers' rhetorics are more highly appreciated than competence and high levels of professional skill. It is not very promising for the work of parliament when only political advantages are sought from every issue discussed, because, unfortunately, apart from selfish party interests, nationwide and statewide problems exist which should also be resolved and which do not serve opportunistic goals. It is not an expression of great political culture when every effort is made to make unnecessary statements or remarks that could easily be avoided, just for the sake of talking. It is not a very efficient division of labor between deputies in a parliament when one group specializes only in procedural matters, another in responses, and yet another in routine statements, while real experts on specific issues are few and far between.

I repeat that my critical remarks about our parliament should not be regarded as an expression of disrespect. I do not intend to prescribe what parliament should or should not do. On the contrary, my remarks should be regarded as an expression of my greatest respect for the National Assembly and its mission.

We fought for the Grand National Assembly during the roundtable talks, we fought for it during the election campaign, we fought for the preservation of its civil and political prestige, and we are still fighting, and shall fight in the future for all these achievements, being convinced that parliament is called upon to play an important role in our public life. Not only is its name grand, but its mission is great, because it is expected to accomplish great deeds. The Grand National Assembly must adopt the laws on the basis of which democratic reforms shall be implemented and prepare a constitution which is expected to consolidate the reforms and open the path toward even broader, new horizons.

The question of the Grand National Assembly's prestige is not a private question only concerning the 400 members of parliament. It is not restricted to the interests of the BSP, or the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], or to the interests of any other political force represented in the Grand National Assembly. It is a nationwide question, a nationwide capital issue. No other institution, apart from the Grand National Assembly, is today capable of paving the country's road to democracy, of establishing the real structures and norms of parliamentary democracy in Bulgaria.

The development of events in our country determines that there is no other real democratic alternative to the Grand

National Assembly. To dissolve the Grand National Assembly under the circumstances of an acute economic crisis and growing social tension, to which some not very farsighted politicians dare to allude, would mean to precipitate the country into disorder, chaos, civil war, and, last but not least, military dictatorship.

No one in our country should delude himself about this question. For precisely this reason, the defense of the Grand National Assembly—despite all its shortcomings, the struggle for its survival and its further activities—represents a defense of the country's democratic future, a defense of our hopes for democracy. Conversely, all attempts to destabilize the Grand National Assembly and to deny its function as a guarantor of the irreversible democratic process in our country would represent a direct attack against our democratic future.

The question is also closely linked to the issue of extra-parliamentary democracy. The better and more effectively the Grand National Assembly works, the less room and opportunity for extremism exists, and I mean real political extremism. Under the conditions of a normally functioning National Assembly, no one outside parliament would be capable of convincing people to accept extra-parliamentary alternatives for the country's democratic development. The demagogic and adventurous nature of such efforts and assurances would be promptly unmasked by parliament and every normal thinking and unprejudiced person would be able to convince himself of it. I would not like you to misunderstand me. I am not against extra-parliamentary political activities; I am not against the extra-parliamentary activities of the different strata in our society, against the political activities of young people, students, and intellectuals; on the contrary, we should welcome and respect such activities. Our parliamentary democracy, in the long run, emerged from extra-parliamentary activities. Today, however, all extra-parliamentary activities should be based on the Constitution and be implemented within the framework of the law.

There can be no democracy outside the law and outside the Constitution. This has been repeated over and over again, and I take the liberty of repeating it again.

Our experience has confirmed this truth on several occasions. Every time when square and street democracy permitted itself to transgress the law and failed to respect the Constitution, this resulted in gross behavior, violence, destruction, and extremism, which, in the long run, alienated the people and discredited the very idea of democracy in Bulgaria.

In this connection, I would like to say a few words about certain people's unfounded claims that they were speaking on the nation's behalf, claims which we have witnessed recently. Certain individuals, some groups—and small groups at that, minor movements, even tiny movements—often permitted themselves to speak on behalf of the people and to present themselves as the true exponents of the people's will. From this position, some attempts were even made to exert pressure on the Grand National Assembly and to dictate how parliament should proceed in certain cases and what decisions to take on one or another question. Cases of harassing members of parliament have even occurred, which will be remembered as very disgraceful episodes in our parliament's history.

In responding to such claims I would like to point out as follows: There is only one single institution in Bulgaria today which is legally entitled to speak on the Bulgarian people's behalf: the Grand National Assembly, which is backed by 6.5 million full-fledged Bulgarian citizens who have voted for it.

Every individual member of parliament is backed by 40,000 to 50,000 constituents, who have elected him to parliament with their votes, and hence, his deputy's immunity, his inviolability, and his right of speaking on behalf of his constituents stem from this. For this reason, any discrimination against a member of parliament, regardless of his party affiliation, represents a violation of his immunity and an insult against parliamentary democracy in our country.

Esteemed National Assembly deputies, our country is entering a special stage of its development, a stage in which powerful economic factors, or factors of the economic crisis, to put it better, are destabilizing our country, evoke social dissatisfaction, and all kinds of tensions.

Under such circumstances, the work of the Grand National Assembly plays a particularly important role for our society's and our state's domestic and external stability. This work should be expedient, purpose-oriented, businesslike, and effective, so that the Grand National Assembly may be a real promoter of the country's democratic process which should drive it forward toward parliamentary democracy and market economy.

Rhetorical speeches and exercises should no longer be made, political advantages and cheap propaganda effects should not sought in the interest of one's own political group, party, or parliamentary faction. Such things are no longer necessary and no longer impress people as they did during the roundtable talks, or during the election campaign, when they still influenced the people's political education. People do not expect propaganda from our parliament today, but businesslike, constructive work for preparing the laws. People expect the country's new laws and new constitution to be implemented.

Priority importance should be attached to laws likely to promote the economic and political reforms in our country which can and should be promptly implemented in our country. This applies to the law on depolitization, to the law on the policy, to the law on land, the law on privatization, the law on property, the law on banks, and to the more specialized laws on economic activities which are expected to facilitate our progress toward a market economy.

We should eliminate part of the state monopoly in various spheres of our economic life, which under the conditions of free market prices, is presently promoting black marketeering, speculation, and corruption on a large scale, and which has a deadly affect on the majority of our people.

The new government should be appointed as soon as possible. Our country cannot endlessly wait for a new government. Since the BSP, despite its majority in parliament, is unwilling to form its own, one-party government, considering that it would not be successful, which may be justified, and since the opposition, even if it should be willing, is not capable of forming its own government for the time being, there is only one alternative, namely to form a programmatic government likely to be supported by the entire parliament. The National Assembly will support this government for the sake of its radical, democratic program and because it is likely to engage in implementing the topical economic and political reforms and to implement them within a set period of time, such as nine months, or a year, or a year and a half. The strength and effectiveness of this government should precisely rely on the firm support of parliament. Under such circumstances, the personnel aspect of the government, its staff, and the question who and what kind of people should participate in it is not an issue of primary importance. This does not mean that people are unimportant, but it is not a question of crucial importance. It is so, because the government members will act as representatives of parliament. This circumstance makes it possible to avoid a coalition under any form whatsoever. I also think that a coalition government, with the participation of opposition leaders, is uncalled for at this point, not only and not so much because it would mean emasculating the opposition and depriving it of its leadership, but also because it would entail a series of other consequences, likely to steer events into a different direction, and to drive our country toward chaos. The emasculation of the parliamentary opposition and its discrediting in the eyes of our millions of people would inevitably prompt the emergence of a new opposition, a much more extremist opposition, an unorganized, and uncontrollable opposition, and drive it into the streets. This kind of opposition might steer the country into quite different directions. Such experiments are extremely dangerous under the circumstances of the deteriorating economic crisis and of increasing public discontent.

At the same time, both sides of parliament should adopt a much more constructive approach so that Bulgaria may have a new government within the forthcoming days, so that our country may not be confronted with a fatal situation, under which, while struggling to seize the wheel of the ship, we might fail to notice that the ship is sinking and never realize that the whole struggle is about the color of the flag under which our ship is about to sink.

In the meantime the ship, named Santa Ekonomika, such as it was ironically called by the authors Boris Dimovski and Marko Ganchev in their joint satirical short story, continues to sink, to go to the bottom of the sea.

As we have already said, I repeat: When the ship is sinking, any government, regardless of its political affiliation, would be confronted with immense difficulties. The worst thing, the most unjust thing, however, is that the rescue of the ship will proceed at the expense of millions of compatriots who elected us to this parliament.

The government issue has also a foreign policy aspect. If we prove incapable of forming a government as soon as possible, we will miss numerous opportunities to obtain economic assistance, foreign investments, and so forth in 1990.

For this reason, I think that an appropriate team, or a commission in charge of preparing a government program, should be elected as early as today. I think that this could be done promptly. Mr. Lukanov submitted an interesting expose of his views on a future government, from a programmatic point of view in a general political context. Nevertheless, this is not yet a program to which the Grand National Assembly could commit itself. Let us begin with the essential tasks and, most promptly advance toward its implementation. This is a crucial requirement, and I call on the leading bodies of the parliamentary factions that they should promptly form such a program commission.

Esteemed National Assembly deputies, we should be businesslike and courageous, we should not prevent the democratic reforms and democratic changes from being promptly implemented. The shortcomings and negative aspects of democracy can only be overcome by more democracy.

Thank-you for your attention.

Lukanov's Difficulty in Forming Government Viewed

AU1409135990 Sofia BTA in English 1226 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Is There Going To Be Again a Single-Party Government of Socialists?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 14 Sep (Miss Iva Toncheva, BTA)—The opposition yesterday officially refused to participate in a coalition government with the Socialists. Their motives were that "there are no prerequisites and conditions for a coalition." All leaders of parties and organizations in the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) signed this resolution. Rumors that some of the opposition leaders will accept Andrey Lukanov's invitation and participate in the government without being engaged with their parties have not been confirmed.

"The most important reason for our refusal to participate in the government is the lack of a program, backed

by parliament, which would oblige any future government," said one of the opposition leaders Dimitur Ludzhev.

The opposition is afraid not to be wiped out as an opposition. "At this stage a common government would mean a pure cabinet coalition, unprotected by the tiniest pressure: in parliament and by the street," Ludzhev says. Lukanov offered minister's seats to the SDS leadership but offered none to the Socialists' leaders. In a possible failure of government the opposition would lose much of its prestige. "And it is still young, inexperienced and without traditions," the opposition leader says.

The opposition is worried by the non-conservative trends in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. The BSP leadership got many reproaches that it is making many concessions to the opposition and is lately oriented to a harder line. This is evident in parliament, in the attacks which the Socialists' daily "DUMA" addresses and in the continuing silence about the culprits for the crisis, Ludzhev thinks. He accuses Socialists in parliament for being passive. "All of the more important initiatives have been tabled by the SDS. And things are much more difficult for the opposition as it does not have the experience of the BSP apparatus."

Will there be again a single-party government of the Socialists? The BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] continues to back the view that it is going to participate in a government only with the participation of the major political forces. This is the final version said Socialist Dimitur Yonchev at a press conference yesterday. According to him there were other versions, too: a national government, a program government...

What is the list which Andrey Lukanov will present in parliament will perhaps be known next week.

Delegates' Opinions Noted

AU1409163190 Sofia BTA in English 1408 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Sep (BTA)—After the SDS refusal to participate in a coalition and the BSP wish to avoid a single-party cabinet, some of the M.P.'s think that the working up of a program for the government which would get a parliamentary consensus, would alleviate the government formation. Others, however, are skeptical about the possibility for understanding with the continuing political polarization. Still others believe that the idea is worth the support only if the future cabinet includes experts from various political circles.

There is a general opinion that it should not be waited any longer as the economic issues cannot be postponed. "The optimism" of Ivan Pushkarov, an opposition M.P. and a SDS economic expert comes from the fact that the country's disastrous state calls for urgent moves. Prof. Stoyan Mikhaylov, an independent M.P. and former member of the Communist Party senior leadership finds lack of power dangerous. (On August 30, Andrey Lukanov accepted the task to form a new cabinet) The fact that everybody is aware of the need of urgent adoption of measures for coming out of the crisis and the way to form a new cabinet has still not been found is explained by Stoyan Mikhaylov with the BSP internal difficulties. According to him there are contradictions at different levels in the BSP. The oppositional M.P.'s are of the opinion that a consolidation of the conservatives is observed before this party's congress which is appointed for September 22.

The parliamentary factions will discuss the president's proposal. The next session is appointed for Wednesday [19 September].

SDS Issues Statement on Violence; Plans Rally

AU1409170690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Report on "announcement" from the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS); date not given]

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], assessing the alarming situation in the country, and guided by their unmistakable positions of principle, which it categorically proclaimed in its election program, considers it its duty to declare the following:

Manifestations of violence are becoming increasingly frequent. In this connection, the SDS once more categorically declares itself against all actions transgressing the laws, regardless of the question of which political forces are responsible for them.

We clearly and firmly defend our position in favor of peaceful transition to democracy, the statement points out. At the same time, the SDS resolutely raises the question about the responsibility of political forces and individuals who are guilty of the national disaster.

On this occasion, the SDS organizes a nationwide rally on Monday, 17 September, as of 1800 [1500 GMT] at St. Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia.

At this first nationwide meeting since the elections, the SDS will unmistakably and frankly state its opinions on all crucial problems involving the country before the Bulgarian people, the announcement says.

Defense of parliamentary democracy is the main issue to which the rally will be devoted.

ASP To Try 'Culprits' Behind Nation's Problems

AU1409183090 Sofia BTA in English 1730 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Sep (BTA)—The first meeting of the initiative committee for a public trial of the culprits for the problems facing Bulgaria now was held here today at the initiative of the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP].

The participating representatives of nearly twenty political parties and public organizations considered the

methods to collect evidence, facts and testimonies on the crimes committed by those responsible for the present condition of Bulgaria which was described at the meeting as a national catastrophe.

The idea is to pass a moral indictment on the culprits for that catastrophe, an indictment which should be made public to prompt or assist legal proceedings.

The organization will publish its findings in a publication of its own.

ASO National Conference Debates BSP Platform

AU1609190090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] On 16 September in Sofia the Fifth National Conference of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO-Faction Within the Bulgarian Socialist Party], took place. Some 132 representatives of 62 clubs throughout the country took part in the conference. The delegates discussed the Bulgarian Social Party [BSP] draft charter and draft platform that were published.

During the discussion which developed, the participants described the spirit of the platform as reformist. However, significant inadequacies and compromises were pointed out. One of them, for example, is the fact that the platform does not include a categorical assessment of the past and does not take a stand on Leninism. In addition, the basic concept of democratic socialism has not been sufficiently clarified.

The draft charter was seriously criticized. It was described not only as conservative, but also as a step backward in developing internal party democracy.

The conference elected delegates for the forthcoming BSP congress.

A declaration to the leadership of Bulgarian Television was adopted. It protests against the interview with Ivan Kalchev from ASO-Independent on the eve of the national conference of ASO-Faction Within the BSP. This fact was described a crude manipulation of public opinion.

A decision was adopted that the DEN daily publish the names of compromised and noted conservative BSP members who have been elected delegates to the BSP Congress. A proposal was unanimously adopted according to which ASO's Political Council should establish contact with representatives of all radical currents in the BSP for working out a common strategy at the forthcoming BSP congress.

Police Actions Against Black Marketeers Reported

AU1409163790 Sofia BTA in English 1353 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Sep (BTA)—The latest evil which the Bulgarian police has to fight is black marketeering. For the time being the fight is not terribly successful. Bulgarians, Gypsies and foreigners peddle all sorts of goods in pedestrian subways and parks, straight in the street and even in front of Bulgaria's priciest hotel: the Sofia Sheraton.

In just ten days or so the police busted black-marketeers three times, seizing imported merchandise worth nearly 200,000 leva. The police discovered caches stuffed with huge amounts of goods illegally imported from Turkey and detected the supply networks. Bulgarian and Polish citizens have been detained. The searches resulted in the seizure of ladies' blouses and skirts, jeans, lipsticks, socks, sweaters, chewing gum, medicines, Adidas caps, mechanical toys, Coca Cola extract etc.

The largest police crack down on a private hotel in Sofia's suburbia resulted in the arrest of six Poles in the possession of goods imported from Turkey worth over 100,000 leva: denim jackets, perfumes, ornaments and lipsticks.

The police started doing random checks in places frequented by black marketeers: the Sofia subways and parks, and invariably caught money changers, sellers of fur coats, tinned food, cigarettes, chewing gums, cosmetics and coffee. Those caught include, apart from Bulgarians and Bulgarian Gypsies, Poles, Romanians, Vietnamese and even one Mongolian who has been studying physical culture in Sofia for seven years now.

The police try to wage a war on black marketeering in the provinces, too. The same merchandise is seized there, too, along with footwear, electronics, electrical appliances, foodstuffs and other scarce items. The policemen are trying to surveil the shops as black marketeers control many warehouses.

For the time being, the police is alone in its combat against the black market. The government considered a bill against black marketeering, corruption and smuggling only two days ago. The draft legislation lays down fines which will be levied at short notice. The black marketeers' merchandise will be seized and they will be stripped of the right to exercise a profession.

War Veterans Protest Proposed Loss of Privileges

AU1509202490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] In connection with the proposal of the parliamentary people's deputies to cancel the privileges granted to participants in the Fatherland War, the regional coordinating council of the Union of Participants in the Fatherland War in Tolbukhin has issued a protest declaration.

At the price of 32,000 casualties, the frontline fighters carried out their patriotic and international duty, the declaration states. History cannot erase their heroism. Some 40 years after the war, by which time a large number of these former frontline fighters had died while others became sick from old age, the totalitarian regime

of Todor Zhivkov granted them, as charity, pensions of 20 leva and certain other negligible privileges, the document states.

Data is cited that about 6,000 former frontline fighters live in the Tolbukhin region, of whom about 80 percent receive pensions of less than 100 leva; 10 percent receive pensions between 100 and 150 leva; eight percent, pensions from 150 to 200 leva; and two percent receive pensions of over 200 leva. The declaration demands that the supplement of 20 leva should be increased to 50 leva.

The coordinating council declares that if these privileges are removed, the former frontline soldiers of Tolbukhin, together with their descendants, will distance themselves from their people's deputies and will pass a vote of no confidence in them. All former participants in the war are urged to follow their example.

Two Nationals Killed by Border Guards in SFRY

AU1709135090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 90

["Announcement" from the Ministry of Internal Affairs press center in Sofia on 17 September]

[Text] According to the SFRY authorities, on 15 September at 1330 [1030 GMT] a SFRY border detail arrested two Bulgarian citizens on SFRY territory. These two citizens were Damyan Petrov Panchev, born in 1937 in Boynitsa, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, living in Vidin, section foreman at the hemp products enterprise in Kula, married, and without any criminal record, and his brother, Nacho Petrov Panchev, born in 1944 in Boynitsa, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, unmarried, without any criminal record, worker at the Pirin Technological Chemical Enterprise. The arrest took place 4,000 meters southwest of Golemanovo Village, Kula municipality, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast and 6,000 meters north of the Vraska Cuka border checkpoint, in the immediate vicinity of border marker No. 439.

The two crossed the border on bicycles and had with them suspicious industrial products, sausages, water pipe installation parts, instruments, spare parts, a car battery, paints, varnish, and other goods, apparently with the intention of selling them on the black market.

After their arrest the Bulgarian citizens offered the detail money for their release. They were handcuffed. Afterward they began to protest and resist and one of them succeeded in freeing his hands. After firing warning shots the SFRY border troops started leading the Bulgarians toward the post. At a certain moment the Bulgarians threw away their bicycles and attacked the detail. The soldiers opened fire and killed them.

During the inspection of the site it was established that our citizens had in fact been killed on SFRY territory. Their bodies were found in immediate proximity to the border line. The two bicycles and the goods were lying about two meters from them. There were many bullet wounds on their bodies.

During the search it was established that the two brothers had regular foreign passports, and that they had repeatedly visited Yugoslavia. However, one of them had a remark in his passport which banned him from entering Yugoslavia.

The chairman of the Bulgarian border delegation requested to talk to the border detail to clarify the circumstances. This request was, however, denied.

Following the inspections, the bodies were taken to the city of Zajecar for an autopsy in the presence of a Bulgarian investigator, coroner, and expert. The protocol of the autopsy and the bodies will be handed over to the Vraska Cuka border checkpoint.

The Bulgarian side protested against the delayed reporting of this serious accident at our border. In addition, the categorical opinion was expressed that the case could have been dealt with without using firearms, or at least, in a way with less serious consequences for the Bulgarian citizens, because they had already been arrested, and the developments took place during the day. Furthermore, the Bulgarian citizens were not armed. Therefore the accident represents a case in which the limits of the necessary defensive action were crossed.

The investigation of the incident continues.

Ten More Citizens Allowed To Leave Baghdad

AU1709093090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] We have received a report on the evacuation of another group of Bulgarian citizens from Baghdad. Here is what Mr. Zdravko Velev, head of the Arab Countries Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said:

[Begin Velev recording] According to a report from our embassy in Baghdad, on 16 September a group of 10 Bulgarian citizens, among them seven women and one child, left Baghdad for Moscow aboard an AEROFLOT airplane. The women are associated primarily with the Bulgarian Transimpex organization. A sick employee of Transimpex and a young man who was in Iraq in connection with the activity of the Sports Commerce Organization, have also been allowed to leave.

The group has reservations for today's AEROFLOT Moscow-Sofia flight 171. However, because of the delay in the flight from Baghdad to Moscow they will probably arrive on one of the later flights. [end recording]

Needless to say, we are in contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and as soon as we receive new information we shall report it.

Lukanov Notes 'Detente' in Relations With Turkey

AU1509150890 Sofia BTA in English 1354 GMT 15 Sep 90

["Andrey Lukanov: Favourable Future for Bulgaro-Turkish Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 15 Sep (BTA)—The major result from the meeting in Antalya was Bulgaria's and Turkey's readiness to develop their relations without any restrictions, said in an interview for "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who recently paid a visit to Turkey and met there with President Turgut Ozal.

According to Andrey Lukanov in the course of this country's democratization, and mainly after the resolutions late last year about restoration of the rights and freedoms of the Bulgarians of Turkish origin and the Muslims, there has been a detente in Bulgaro-Turkish relations.

Lukanov assesses the meeting as a necessary stage in the normalization of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. The trend towards improvement of relations between the two countries has special significance for international relations in the Balkans, too. The unsatisfactory state of relations between Bulgaria and Turkey was in discord with the common trend towards profound and positive changes in Europe and in the Balkans, Mr. Lukanov said.

"The restoration of good-neighbourly relations would enable us make up for the missed time and look both on a bilateral as well as on a multi-lateral basis for a level of confidence which would allow us guarantee much better national security and the territorial integrity of our countries on the basis of mutual engagements and benefit from mutual cooperation," the interview reads.

According to Lukanov there are new prospects in relation with growing significance of the region and the two countries as a centre of international communications.

Bulgaria and Turkey were something like front states whose frontier was also a dividing line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, Lukanov said. According to him the borders of national security are now related with the growth of mutual confidence and the intensity of the European process. "We cannot forget the realities and especially the fact that Turkey's military forces on its European territory and in proximity to the Bulgarian frontier are much greater in number and armaments than these of Bulgaria. This is not justifiable against the background of the new trends of relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and in European relations as a whole. And if this state of things is not changed there will be grounds for concerns. We are expressing this concern openly and frankly at the Vienna negotiations, too." A. Lukanov expresses hope that the Turkish side would bear this in mind.

He says that there is an agreement for an early meeting between of the heads of staff of the two countries' military forces.

The interlocutors also dwelled on the Turkish side's attitude to Muslims in Bulgaria, but for the first time over the last years this issue was not in the heights of the talks. The Turkish side positively assesses the measures adopted to secure the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens, the Bulgarian Turks included, Lukanov stressed.

According to the Bulgarian premier the stress at this meeting was not placed on differences but on common interests.

Romania's Roman Writes Lukanov on Ruse-Giurgiu

AU1409163290 Sofia BTA in English 1406 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep—Stefan Staykov, first deputy-minister of foreign affairs, was received by Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase.

The Romanian minister handed his Bulgarian counterpart a letter from Prime Minister Petre Roman to Bulgarian Chairman of the Council of Ministers Andrey Lukanov in relation with the ecological situation in the region Ruse-Giurgiu. The two sides considered some measures which the two countries are undertaking to improve the ecological situation in the frontier areas.

Negotiations Held in Giurgiu

AU1409192390 Sofia BTA in English 1733 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Ruse, 14 Sep (BTA)—At a meeting in Giurgiu, the Bulgarian and the Romanian parts of the mixed commission of governmental experts came up with a common stand for referring the environmental protection problem in the areas of Ruse, Giurgiu and Kozloduy to international expert examinations.

The Ruse-Giurgiu international expert examination will cover the actual and potential sources of pollution from businesses in the two cities. The mixed commission will submit to it the record of its own investigation and the positions of the two sides. Concerning the Kozloduy area, Romania wants the experts to check nuclear safety and the operation of the existing nuclear power plants. The international experts will be expected to give their competent opinions on the expediency of building a new nuclear power plant in Belene in view of its proximity to Romanian territory. The common stand says that, according to Bulgaria, in keeping with the intergovernmental agreements an expert examination should be conducted in the area of Kozloduy but further on it should extend to the rest of the nuclear power plants in both countries.

Deputy Minister Staykov on Bucharest Conference

AU1409192190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting of highranking representatives from foreign affairs ministries of the Balkan states was held in Bucharest between 12 and 14 September.

The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. The participants in the meeting examined the implementation of recent initiatives within the framework of multilateral Balkan cooperation. Opinions were exchanged on the preparation of the foreign ministers meeting scheduled to take place in Tirana on 24 and 25 October 1990.

A draft agenda on forthcoming Tirana meeting was adopted. It included a review of cooperation in all spheres and new proposals on expanding relations in the spirit of all-European cooperation.

The high-ranking representatives from foreign ministers of Balkan countries agreed to include new meetings devoted to specific problems, such as medicine and economic issues, in the program of future Balkan cooperation.

It was decided that the next meeting of foreign ministries highranking representatives should take place in Ankara, during the first half of 1990.

The Bulgarian delegation arrived at the Bucharest meeting with a clear concept on the role of Balkan cooperation as a means of improving the atmosphere of confidence and good neighborly relations, Deputy Minister Stefan Staykov said.

We devoted particular attention to questions connected with security and confidence building, considering that they determine the development of cooperation and relations in all other spheres.

The Bulgarian delegation actively participated in the meeting. We emphasized the requirement of achieving specific results, Staykov said. It may be true that the majority of delegations did not submit new initiatives, but they devoted their attention to the implementation of previously adopted decisions, Stefan Staykov further pointed out.

Zhelev Receives USSR Ambassador Sharapov

AU1409191690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today received Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, at his own request.

The ambassador briefed President Zhelev in detail on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Helsinki.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev briefed the Soviet ambassador on the most recent developments in Bulgaria.

Meets With Chief Mufti, FRG Envoy

AU1309180490 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Sep (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev received today the Chief Mufti of this country Dr Nedim Hafuz Ibrahim Gendzhev [name as received] after his request.

They discussed issues related with the rights and duties of Muslims in this country.

President Zhelyu Zhelev received today the FRG Ambassador Plenipotentiary Karl Walter Lewalter.

They discussed issues between Bulgaria and the future of united Germany, the issues related with the formation of the new Bulgarian Government and the possibilities for rendering of assistance on behalf of Germany, to overcome the economic crisis in Bulgaria.

Zhelev Addresses Global Human Rights Symposium

AU1509150690 Sofia BTA in English 1354 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 15 Sep (BTA)—An international symposium on human rights started here today.

It is organized by the Bulgarian Society for Honest Elections and the National Democratic Institute for International Relations with the United States.

Bulgarian politicians and experts from Great Britain, Greece, the United States, France, Holland and Chile are discussing the role of non-government organizations, jurists and the mass media for human rights in Europe in the framework of the United Nations and the Helsinki process.

An international workshop on local self-management was also opened here on the eve of the forthcoming municipality elections. The discussions concern issues of the legislative control on local bodies of power, election rights, the ethics and responsibility in the municipalities' activities compared with social structures in the different countries.

President Zhelyu Zhelev addressed the participants and marked the early and useful character of these initiatives for the development of democracy here. He highly assessed the work of the Bulgarian Society for Honest Elections, which was founded in April this year as a non-political organization for unbiased control over the parliamentary elections in June and which continues its activities in support of this country's democratization.

Protest Given to Iraqi Envoy on Embassy Status

LD1409144190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] A protest note was given to the Iraqi ambassdor at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. In this way the federal government confirms its full agreement with the relevant Security Council resolutions, and once again declares that it considers the forcible annexation of th independent and sovereign State of Kuwait by the Iraqi Republic as a blatant violation of the UN Charter and other norms of international law. It resolutely rejects the Iraqi Government's demand to terminate the activity of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Kuwait. It considers this demand to be interference into one of the fundamental rights of every sovereign state: the right to maintain diplomatic relations with other states.

The federal government protest note stresses the need to resolve disputes in bilateral relations solely by peaceful means. The fact that we have temporarily closed the Czechoslovak Embassy owing to the actions of the Iraqi authorities cannot, under any circumstances, be seen as the abolition of the Czechoslovak Embassy in the State of Kuwait. Full responsibility for any damage caused to our property in that country is borne by the Iraqi Government, the protest note states.

The Kuwaiti ambassador to Czechoslovakia was briefed in detail on the Czechoslovak standpoint on the temporary closure of our embassy in Kuwait.

President Mitterrand Continues Visit 13-14 Sep

Speaks to Federal Assembly

LD1309220690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1448 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Speech by President Francois Mitterrand to the CSFR National Assembly in Prague; Mitterrand in French fading into superimposed Czech translation with poor reception—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, need I say it, it would seem to be just politeness, but I say it nevertheless: I am happy to be able today to address for the first time the freely elected representatives of the Czech and Slovak people. [passage omitted] I told President Vaclav Havel, who I have the honor to greet here, I told him during lunch that we lived through the entire history with you, from the time between the two world wars to the tragic days when our relations were broken or abandoned. This left its mark. I recall the days when I was a student and soldier. I was prepared, as were others of my generation, to participate in the first day of a new war. I recall that it was the time when I first began to write for some newspapers—and I was proud of being published; I wanted to say what I thought about this affront, about this crime against the law, consisting of a number of actions committed in this part of this world before Munich, and also about what happened afterwards, what was inscribed into the logic of history. [passage omitted]

Even if it takes some time to again build up a state based on the rule of law, a healthy economy, and a life comparable with the one you could have had, you need to experience it yourselves and be able to pass onto your children the same way of life, as have many other nations with more luck in their history and who preserved such a way of life in the course of historical events. But, that was in other parts of Europe.

It might take some time, but I am coming here to bear witness, on behalf of my country and some other countries, to the fact that we shall be with you to help you to succeed in this effort. These are not empty words, as we have in front of us a number of prospects which we are striving to implement. It would be not correct and encouraging at all if Czechoslovakia were to be spoken about in such a way as if it needed to catch up with a lot of things, as if Czechoslovakia lagged behind and needs to tackle things. No. What happens now is that new things are being created.

If something is new, there is a need to approach it in a new spirit. Therefore, there is a need to take action quickly and achieve what you are striving for.

Regarding the great problems of this moment, we all face the same questions, the same hopes. It depends on us to chose [word indistinct] according to individual conditions such ways that will lead to the transformed Europe, the changed Europe, where all the nations of this continent will be equal partners—entirely sovereign and capable of adopting decisions independently and behaving according to them.

The Western part of Europe, the part which was not sacrificed at Yalta, to simplify events rather inexactly from the historical point of view, this Western Europe includes one country which is the farthest to the East and South. You can see here the need to speak exactly, for example, when we say Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that you are more likely in the center. We need to keep revising our geographic knowledge permanently, according to politics. [passage omitted]

Relations between Germany and France were difficult. In three quarters of a century we just about emerged from war. The last two wars caused unimaginable horrors and damage. [passage omitted] Now we are starting again; we are setting out anew, but we are remaining faithful to history and its values: We say yes to French culture, we say yes to German culture. English culture? We have no doubts about this. Spanish culture? It is vast; Spanish culture is vast. I could go on and on quoting this long list. But at the same time, we have a common culture, our spirit is formed on the basis of the discipline which we learned from great writers, great musicians, great artists, independent of whether they were born in Dresden, in London, or in Poland, in Sallamanca, or in Paris. I could expand on this way of thinking; I could

carry on with these deliberations much longer; I could extend them to all the countries which you can only imagine. Simply, the leading representatives of Europe have now found themselves at a crucial period of time, and I am of the opinion that in Czechoslovakia—and I quote, the spiritual crossroads of Europe—there are many of you who are sharing this feeling which I often talked about with President Havel. I wonder if we are ready to jointly enter this turning period in European history: That is the question I am asking. We must arrive at this sooner or later, you and us.

The twelve [members of the EC] understood very quickly that, without giving up the aims of unification, which we had set out—I said 1998 and after, but anyway—it must give its economic power and its unity to the services of the second Europe, to which it is so near. It is the Europe which suffered other damage; its origin is of an ideological character. It was also exposed to military force and war, when so many peoples lost their freedom and went further and further down the scale, which in the end inevitably led to a serious economic crisis. I mentioned all this just under a year ago, prior to the meeting of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, when I appealed to the peoples of the second Europe, as well your people, among others, to define and jointly with us outline a new path for Europe.

Thus I shall not enumerate the entire catalogue of the unions which now join the Europe of the twelve and Central Europe, Czechoslovakia in particular. The European Council of April 1990 decreed that it will lead negotiations with the European countries concerned about concluding peace agreements on association, which predicts an institutional framework for a political dialogue. As to Czechoslovakia, the talks will start as early as this fall. Apart from commercial measures, ladies and gentlemen, we shall work out a certain system of building Europe, our Europe, the Europe of geography and history, and the Europe of culture. We already have the appropriate tools. Recently, we set up a bank for the development and renewal of Eastern Europe. This was suggested by France. [passage omitted]

The Czechoslovak people have always been considered one of the oldest people of Europe, and thus we must realize that one day—and as soon as possible, naturally we must study these matters with reason, on the basis of experience—we shall be apart of the same structures. At the moment we are in the structure of what is called the CSCE. This conference is to take place in November. You know how important the Helsinki agreement of several years ago was from the point of view of the two military blocs. Of course this was a forum at which we could meet, yet we came from the two blocs, the two sides. [passage omitted]

Can we not go even further? Your country is truly one of the main countries of the summit in Paris; so what should all the initiatives be aimed at? They should be aimed at creating structures' names; but this idea has already taken its path in Prague, in Warsaw, and in Paris, to name just a few countries which have contributed their own concepts which are perhaps different—and Mr. Gorbachev also spoke about this in the framework of his common European home. This is how a new type of future will be prepared, the future of a new organization which will enable all the countries of our continent to engage in democratic development and to be equipped to represent (?themselves) in the new system. It will also enable these countries to meet, on an equal basis—I repeat this—to discuss common problems such as the environment, transport, technology, culture, and through this the [word indistinct] will expand.

On the one hand is the community of the twelve, which we are going to develop and, of course, extend. The CSCE is the only place where practically all the countries of the world meet, the only place. [passage omitted]

Earlier, at the meeting to which I had been invited by the president, I said that it would be very useful if men and women from all European countries, from various free associations, could meet to hold joint formal discussions on what Europe could become: a Europe liberated from all tyranny, a Europe naturally free for everyone, and which could have its privileged friends. Such meetings, which I would dearly like to see take place—let me repeat that I would say a European confederation, everyone can use whatever name he prefers, of course. The president spoke on the same theme but not with the same words. But, in essence, he expressed the same objectives. These meetings would discuss proposals of this kind, of which there are a great many. The list of these objectives is still growing. In view of the fact that I mentioned The Hague Congress in 1948, in view of the fact that I said that nine years will be necessary to build truly permanent structures with a political character, why should we now procrastinate? Why should we not imagine that next year a great debate can take place between Europeans of all cultures, who used to belong to different blocs, who lived through a struggle, and who are finally pleased to be able to meet, to build together. I told your president in the context of the geographical and historical situation that it seemed to me that Prague would be a good center at which to organize this debate. In any case, I will work to this end, and I will see in what way you react to this. Half a century after Munich, or in fact a little more, and less than a year after Czechoslovakia's return to freedom, why cannot the destinies of our two countries be closely linked once again? All the more so if we can take stock of all the success attained in the recent period, the detente which we have seen in history, the surprising reconciliation, and, of course, I do not want to anticipate things, the eradication of antagonisms between West and East.

The history of the world is suddenly being seen in a completely different light. There are not the antagonisms and the rivalries which essentially fuelled many world conflicts. These antagonisms prevented the UN Security Council from reaching agreement because of various spheres of influence. Now this obstacle has suddenly disappeared, and we can see this in the latest Security Council resolutions concerning, in particular, the Middle

East. The five permanent members—the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, (?four of) the five—voted for the same resolution. This also applies to the last resolution. Now the United Nations is no longer a big, empty body which defines international norms. It is an enormous body which has equipped itself with the means to enable respect for laws to be ensured. China adopted a positive practice. That means that it did not use its right of veto.

Thus it was, for the first time, that this huge international assembly decided to use the means which will make it possible to ensure that these decisions are respected. Who could imagine this, for example, in connection with the events in Cuba? Or in connection with the Berlin Wall which led to the cold war, to hot war? Or in connection with conflicts which appeared basically irreversible? Things appeared increasingly worse, and all of a sudden we find ourselves in this situation. I think this enables us to be optimists now, from the point of view of human character. If I can express a certain opinion: We can at least be optimists from the point of view of what influences history.

Naturally, there is the conflict in the Persian Gulf. France is behaving in this conflict by fulfilling the decisions of the UN, presenting them in the form of presence of military force, aside the presence of forces of other countries. The situation is so difficult that we can ask whether all the sanctions of peace indeed depend merely on the embargo, which, naturally, will be accompanied through poverty and pain. Despite this, it is what has to be done. It is necessary that international law gain satisfaction, if possible without reverting to war. But, if this does not succeed, what will be the way out? At this point, we realize to what extent a new role of the United Nations is emerging, that the prestige of the United Nations has been found again, that the United Nations may express the right, and that this ability can become the decisive element in the protection of peace in the world, while respecting international law.

When citing this example, I illustrated it with a topical event. But this way of thinking could be extended further. The United Nations often decreed some resolutions [words indistinct] in other words, it accepted [word indistinct] injustice. One should say this much. But, it is not because yesterday one could commit injustice that one needs to rejoice today at a time when justice is suddenly in preponderance.

I shall rejoice again when I see Czechoslovakia playing its role better, firmly taking its place in the concert of peoples [word indistinct] rights, freedom, justice, and peace. I have the impression that when I say this I am interpreting fairly exactly what you say yourselves. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, we in France followed so intently and lovingly the events which you were experiencing for such a long time. We lived with you through the year 1968. We, too, were in pain. I said it before: We admired the bravery and courage of those who symbolized patriotic struggle, the struggle of the Czechoslovaks. We are of the opinion that you have not exhausted your reserves of heroism and patriotism. First of all, you apply them to yourselves. It is not so easy to overcome internal rivalry or ethnic rivalries.

We are going to build Europe, and now we expect Czechoslovakia to come to the fore of history. But, of course, it will respect its multifaceted nature and preserve its unity. That is the way in which we will manage to move forward along the great path. [applause] It is not so very much to ask. We ourselves still have so many lessons to learn from the time of the dark years I have mentioned, from the time when all of France was divided, occupied, torn apart. That is our hard and bitter experience.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not intend to teach anyone lessons. [passage indistinct] Now, let us go forward at the same pace and along the same route, so we can hopefully build the same home, so we can feel as at home in it as it is possible to do when one has freedom at home. Thank you. [applause]

Meets Havel, Dubcek, Dienstbier

LD1409123390 Prague CTK in English 1141 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—The second day of the official visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to Czechoslovakia started here this morning with a private breakfast in the French ambassador's residence attended by almost the same guests as during the French president's visit to Prague two years ago.

The breakfast in 1988 was attended by leading dissidents including Vaclav Havel, Jiri Dienstbier and Petr Uhl. These men attended the breakfast today as the country's president, foreign minister and CTK director general. Also present was Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) and chairman of the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee and Dubcek's adviser Jiri Hajek.

Francois Mitterrand said that when planning his East European trips in the past, his condition always was to meet with representatives of the opposition or independent movements. The governments' reactions differed—as regards the Czechoslovak one, it took four months before the visit was realized under this condition.

Vaclav Havel underlined that the behaviour of people who are responsible for the past developments must not be forgotten and pointed out that the principle of revenge in inadmissable. He also dealt with the problem of privatization in Czechoslovakia, local self-rule, elections and new relations in the Czechoslovak Federation, and briefed the French president on the two-year term, during which a new constitution will be worked out and

bases of a market economy and new relations between nations and nationalities in the framework of the federation created.

Alexander Dubcek said that building up a new system, especially as regards economy, will last in his opinion for five to seven years.

After the breakfast the two presidents went for a sightseeing tour of Prague. They visited the old Jewish cemetery and the National Literature Museum at Strahov.

Francois Mitterrrand attended also a ceremony of renaming the J.M. Sverdlov Street in Prague's sixth quarter as General Charles de Gaulle Street.

He met in the morning with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, Prague archbishop. The cardinal underlined that the visit of Francois Mitterrand manifests that French people want to understand Czechoslovakia and help the country. Mitterrand stressed in his answer that it is impossible to neglect both the current and the past values of this country whose technological, economic and moral standard was very high until 1939. Now it is necessary to contribute to the restoration of this standard, he said.

Later in the morning French President Francois Mitterrand and his wife left for a visit to Bratislava.

Holds News Conference With Havel

LD1409195590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1512 GMT 14 Sep 90

[News conference in Bratislava attended by President Vaclav Havel and French President Francois Mitterrand—live; Havel comments in Czech and questions from correspondents read in Czech or Slovak; Mitterrand comments in French with simultaneous translation into Slovak]

[Excerpts] [Havel] Esteemed people present here, esteemed journalists: I welcome you to our news conference, where we have the honor of welcoming President Mitterrand.

I should say a few words about the French president's visit and its results, as well as about how I assess the visit.

I believe the visit has been extraordinarily important for several reasons. First, it has deepened the friendshp that we already renewed in a kind of an authentic form during my visit to Paris. It has widened the political scope on cooperation in various areas of public life and the economy.

Second, it is September, the time that we recall the Munich dictate. As you know, British Prime Minister Thatcher will arrive shortly, and we find both of these visits represent the end to this not too good, small chapter, or intermezzo, in the history of our mutual relations. President Mitterrand mentioned it in this sense.

Third, this visit is important since we talked a bit more specifically than on the last occasion about our perceptions of the future Europe settlement. It has appeared for some time now that our thinking about the future of the continent is proceeding along a similar or almost an identical path, which we have realized once again during the current visit.

President Mitterrand talked about his idea of the European confederation and recalled how he had attended a meeting in The Hague at one time, where the idea of European economic cooperation had emerged, which a few years later had resulted in the emergence of European communities, and he thought that thinking about the future structure of Europe ought to have begun in a similar way already at that time. At the same time, such thinking ought to counter in any way the existing European structures or at least those that have proved themselves and have a purpose, a perspective, and that ought to form a part of the edifice of Europe's future.

President Mitterrand told me that, in his view, it would be possible and appropriate if such deliberation about European confederation could take place in Prague or begin in Prague. We have, of course, welcomed this proposal. Prague has offered itself as a venue for such talks, which would in effect concern the future of us, our children, and the future generations and their life in peaceful Europe living in friendship.

Four agreements were signed during the visit. Possibilities of economic cooperation were discussed. It has been shown that, in contrast to the cultural cooperation, we have not as yet recorded many successes, but we believe firmly that this visit has created a political scope which will facilitate and make possible a faster establishment of contacts, cooperation, and coordination between French and Czechoslovak companies.

Several areas have been discussed in which the possibilities of such cooperation are opening. One such area is nuclear energy; another area includes the automobile industry.

During the talks held in Slovakia with Prime Minister Meciar and [Slovak National Council Chairman] Miklosko, the possibility of some kind of cooperation in the conversion of the arms industry was also discussed. I believe firmly that these talks manifest themselves when privatization begins to take place in our country, when the transformation law is passed, when individual companies assume the form of real corporate subjects, and when we are ready to conclude contracts. Our overall policy is not to orient ourselves toward one country alone. We have already discovered through our own experience the disadvantage of such a one-sided comprehensive economic orientation, which is why we now see the need to conduct such economic talks with France, England, and Italy, where I am going next week.

It simply seems to us that, in the future, we ought to orient ourselves economically on various states and carry out a balanced policy. We would like to project this

political view to a certain extent when examining various offers, although a competitive environment is naturally emerging.

This political aspect is one of those which we have to consider, although economic laws themselves, that is, the rules governing demand and supply and the like, play a role, and one has to consider them, too.

We have discussed many specifics, and various events have taken place, but I do not wish to talk any longer. Lter you will be able to ask us questions on matters which are of interest to you.

I would now like to ask President Mitterrand to give his brief assessment of this visit and his view of its course.

[Mitterrand] Ladies and gentlemen, I have wanted to visit for a long time.

I came shortly before the recent revolution. It was important for our two countries to get together after that to get acquainted, if this has not been done before, with the new leading officials of free Czechoslovakia, which is capable of making decisions on its own and which set out along its own path roughly a year ago.

I must say that the meetings with President Havel and many other chief representatives make me think that you have done well and that what has been achieved has exceeded expectations. Many political decisions have been made.

President Havel, whom we thank for all that he has done, has made it possible for this visit to be successful. He revealed his thoughts on Europe's future and on our agreement around three main points, two of which must be maintained and developed: the European Community and the CSCE. Their significance will continue to grow. This will be reflected clearly in Paris in November.

We are working prospectively as a European confederation, even though it is called something else. Initial steps have been taken in Prague, as well as other places.

In the end, they aim for the same goal. The view is very broad, and I noted with great pleasure that President Havel, who is representative of Czechoslovakia, agrees with me.

We said that we could embark upon preparatory work for the purposes of involvement, association, and organization for next year. Agreements have been signed on culture, art, and general administration, as well as on the economy and industrial relations, a need which is felt very strongly in a country such as yours.

I should now like to return to where I started. We hope to meet more often, to cooperate in even better ways, with individual ministers visiting annually. You can take it this way, based on this calculation, and you can fill the void, fill what looks only like a framework of what I have just mentioned.

None of this would make much sense if we did not consider the atmosphere in which these talks were conducted. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified French correspondent in French to Slovak translation] Esteemed Mr. President, President of France, I would like to draw your attention to something that you said yesterday at the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. You said that common sense must prevail in international law. International law was broken in Kuwait. What would you say now on this subject?

[Mitterrand] The residence of our ambassador to Kuwait was occupied by Iraqi troops. Some people were arrested, and some were sent to locations unknown to us. I was informed that our military attache has been released.

All this clearly violates the Vienna Convention, which means that the Iraqi authorities have again violated international law, and it seems that they intend to continue to violate the law, as they have been doing for over a month now.

A protest was issued immediately by the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, demanding the release of our countrymen.

Other embassies also suffered from similar actions: Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, and Netherlands.

We immediately organized consultations, together with our partners who are the victims of similar actions. Do you ask what France intends to do in response, how is it going to react?

I will tell you now only that a series of meetings will take place; they will begin shortly. A meeting of the Council of Ministers which I requested will take place tomorrow morning. The Council has followed the developments of the situation in the Middle East since the beginning of August. I decided to convene it for 1030. I will tell you after it ends what measures will emerge from it.

Similarly, through the minister of state for foreign affairs, France convened an extraordinary session of the (?IPO). The consultation meeting will take place on Tuesday at 1800.

At 12 members of the Community will meet in Brussels on Monday morning.

All these talks will no doubt make it possible to enhance the solidarity among the victims of this violation of the law.

Nevertheless, as far as France itself is concerned, we will have to make decisions, important decisions, by ourselves in order to show clearly that we fulfill our obligations, which we have repeated several times publicly—namely the UN mandate—to make the embargo successful.

I personally have repeated to you at least three times that I cannot exclude further Iraqi aggression—and France will have to prepare for that.

This violation of the rights of our ambassador is a serious matter and we will have to react to it following the consultations with the ministers in charge of the appropriate ministries, and above all with the premier of the government, tomorrow morning.

Then we will continue to brief you—but in Paris. [passage omitted]

[Havel] Perhaps, before giving anyone the floor, I ought to emphasize that Czechoslovakia has condemned, and condemns very forcefully, Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, and that our country has been among the first countries to apply an embargo, and that we are considering the possibilities of supporting the blockade. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to ask President Mitterrand his view on the possibilities of creating a new Marshall Plan for the countries of the former socialist bloc or of setting up a stabilization plan, as proposed by Foreign Minister Dienstbier. I would like to ask you, Mr. President, whether any results have been reached during economic talks on the Skoda automobile company and, if so, whether these results meet the French side's expectations?

[Mitterrand] The Marshall Plan was a very courageous U.S. plan after World War II. That plan must be seen as a specific aid to countries that were destroyed or suffered a great deal from war.

Therefore, we are not talking about the same thing. Different conditions prevail now.

Nonetheless, I would be inclined to do something similar to help bring about a revival and reequip and modernize such countries. France has already begun to do this. The Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been set up to help Eastern European countries. This bank has already been set up and includes 40 countries and two international institutions. It has at its disposal capital and funds which make it rank among the leading international banking institutions willing to use such resources to benefit Eastern European countries. It will start its activity next year; it is now in the process of being established. It will be based in London. It has a French president.

I am mentioning the directions we have taken, and if more ambitious projects could be undertaken, France would be very interested.

[Havel] Before answering the question, perhaps I ought to add to what President Mitterrand said, that if the IMF, the World Bank, EEC, or further institutions set up some kind of stabilization funds to meet the requirements presented by our transition to convertible currency, in line with the ideas Minister Dienstbier delivered at Harvard, then Czechoslovakia will not be annoyed.

Regarding the question asked of me, I would like to say that no discussions have been concluded definitely. A final decision will not be reached before 18 September, a final decision as to with which company a contract will be concluded to build a safety system at Mochovce [nuclear power plant].

One matter has still not yet been finalized up to now: the question of cooperation with the Skoda works in Mlada Boleslav. There are more offers on the table, and nothing as yet been decided. Whatever the decisions will be, this will not be the end in itself because further and further possibilities of cooperation are opening up.

During the current visits, some ministers have agreed to hold regular meetings. New offers have emerged, and even if, for instance, the safety system for the Mochovce nuclear power plant goes to another company, then to a French company, then if we orient ourselves in the future on nuclear energy, French companies will have many, many further opportunities. You know well our situation regarding reactors and safety in nuclear plants, and you know well that not everything comes to an end with the safety system in Mochovce. [passage omitted]

[Havel] The last question, please.

[MLADA FRONTA correspondent (Marcela Pechackova]) A question for President Mitterrand: Margaret Thatcher arrives in Czechoslovakia shortly after you. In our country, you delivered certain proposals on the future arrangement of Europe. Do you think something was left for Mrs. Thatcher to discuss? Or did you, as we put it, steal her thunder?

[Mitterrand] I know President Havel and will ask him to give my best regards to Mrs. Thatcher. She represents a country which is close to France, not just geographically either. For centuries, we were friends as well as enemies, but we were always close to each other. This century it is friendship.

I do not think she has the same view of Europe as I have. Nevertheless, it seems that the prospects of the organization of the entire continent could be acceptable to her—perhaps including some competitive spirit, perhaps with some other types of organization as the European Community is. In my view, all the elements complement each other.

Finally, I am convinced that Great Britain has an important role to play in all these European institutions, and I think she will tell you, Mr. President. After all, she is, in any case, a strong personality. I am unable to foretell if she will take my advice.

[Havel] The prime minister will be received in Czechoslovakia with the same cordiality as President Mitterrand was. If there are differences between her way of thinking and the president's way of thinking, then you will notice it right away, as she is also to deliver a speech at the Federal Assembly.

Thank you for your attention, and I would like to thank the president for answering your questions.

Ends Visit, Departs for France

LD1409194790 Prague CTK in English 1912 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 14 (CTK)—French President Francois Mitterrand ended today a two-day state visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

He was seen off at Bratislava airport by President Vaclav Havel and other Czechoslovak officials.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Meets Leaders

Talks With Federal Premier Calfa

LD1409185390 Prague CTK in English 1517 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene said today that Lithuanian-Czechoslovak cooperation in economy, culture and tourism was on the agenda of her talks with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa earlier in the day.

Mrs Prunskiene said that these contacts can start both on the federal and the national republic levels, and that considerable possibilities lay in direct relations between companies.

Addressing newsmen, Mrs Prunskiene spoke of her government's efforts to seek solutions for its country through talks with the USSR and its republics, in particular the Russian Federation. She said the talks with the Russian Federation had already taken place and future relations could have an impact on contacts with Czechoslovakia.

Marian Calfa said the time has come when opinions should be exchanged and cooperation started with the individual union republics. "Lithuania is all the more sympathetic to us since it launched a certain process of disengaging from this union," he said and added that the Sajudis movement in many aspects resembled Czechoslovakia's Civic Forum and Public Against Violence political movements.

Referring to the talks Calfa said that on the list of the branches selected for bilateral cooperation were agriculture, the electrical engineering industry and engineering production.

The Czechoslovak and Lithuanian premiers agreed on stepping up cooperation in tourism. Among other issues they discussed was the setting up of an authority for common interests which, however, must still be considered from the point of view of international law. Calfa said he had drawn the Lithuanian side's attention to the process of transferring powers in the economic sphere from the Czechoslovak Federation to the republics. He said it will be necessary to consider the extent of both the Czechoslovak Federation's relationship and that of the republics to Lithuania and whether it should not be secured above all by the republics. The representatives of the national governments attended the talks, Calfa said.

Signs Trade Memorandum

LD1409220390 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—Premiers Marian Calfa and Kazimiera Prunskiene signed today a memorandum on the basic principles of economic and trade relations between Czechoslovakia and the Lithuanian republic.

It says that both sides consider it necessary to implement changes in the mechanism of their economic and trade relations as the economies of both countries begin to operate in market conditions. With regard to practices normal in international trade mutual payments will be calculated in convertible currencies at the level of world prices but the memorandum also provides for other possibilities of payment.

The appropriate ministries will draft an intergovernmental agreement on economic and scientific-technological cooperation for 1991-1992 with regard to a 1924 agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Lithuanian Republic.

President Vaclav Havel and Premier Marian Calfa gave a dinner in honour of the Lithuanian prime minister this evening.

Arrives in Slovakia; Meets Meciar

LD1509120190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Kazimiera Prunskiene, premier of the Government of the Lithuanian Republic, who is on a two-day visit to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, arrived in Slovakia today.

She was received in Bratislava by Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Vladimir Meciar, premier of the Government of the Slovak Republic.

The Lithuanian premier will also meet Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Stresses Lithuanian Independence

LD1509163490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Alexander Dubcek, federal premier [as heard], received at Bratislava Castle today Kazimiera Pruskiene,

prime minister of the Government of Lithuania, who has arrived in Slovakia during her two-day visit of Czechoslovakia. During their conversation the two representatives exchanged views on developments in the USSR and their influence on European affairs.

Alexander Dubcek supports the efforts of the Republic of Lithuania for the renewal of statehood. In her reply Kazimiera Prunskiene stressed that Lithuania will not give up its path toward independence, although it is aware of the difficulties which will be connected with it.

The Lithuanian prime minister was received also by Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Vladimir Meciar, Slovak premier.

CTK Reports Meetings in Slovakia

LD1509173390 Prague CTK in English 1516 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 15 (CTK)—Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene, on a two-day visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Premier Marian Calfa, met with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar here today.

Slovak Minister for External Relations Milan Knazko told newsmen the talks had dealt with a united Europe, possibilities of concrete cooperation in the economy and student exchanges, problems of ethnic minorities and the search for common ways towards the European Communities. Knazko said the talks have not ended as the economics ministers are yet to discuss possibilities of direct exchanges of some kinds of goods since the convertibility of the currencies is not yet settled either in Czechoslovakia or Lithuania.

At her meeting with Slovak National Council (Parliament) Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, Mrs Prunskiene said the declaration of Lithuania's independence does not mean its full realization. She added that Lithuania saw a way of reaching its goals also through talks with Moscow.

Mrs Prunskiene discussed the developments in the USSR and its influence on European affairs also with Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek who expressed support for Lithuania's efforts to restore its statehood. Mrs Prunskiene said Lithuania would not give up its road to independence though it realizes the difficulties connected with it.

The Lithuanian premier said her talks with Slovak representatives were useful and would continue.

Later in the day Mrs Prunskiene left for Prague.

Views Slovakia Visit

LD1509200390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Remarks by Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene in Bratislava on 15 September—recorded, in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation]

[Excerpt] The talks were very interesting. We clarified our views about the overall political situation in this part of Europe which is beginning to build its future on completely new foundations, on the market economy, a new legislature and so on. The future prospects for further development of relations between Lithuania and the Slovak Republic are promising both in economic cooperation as well as trade, student exchange, and other spheres, which fully corresponds to the talks which we had in Prague yesterday with President Vaclav Havel and Marian Calfa, premier of the federal government. My meetings with your representatives in Prague and here in Bratislava showed that we wish to look for new ways of enriching our mutual relations for mutual benefit. [passage omitted]

Signs Memorandum, Departs

LD1509192290 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 15 (CTK)—Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene ended today her official two-day visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

During the visit, which took place at the invitation of Federal Premier Marian Calfa, Mrs Prunskiene signed a memorandum on the basic principles of economic and trade relations between Czechoslovakia and the Lithuanian Republic.

Britain's Thatcher Arrives for Bilateral Talks

Comments on EC Membership for Eastern States

LD1509042890 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has told CTK that "the option of eventual membership" of the European Community "should be clearly on the table" for East European countries.

In an interview before her visit to Czechoslovakia beginning on Sunday she said "The European Community should declare unequivocally that it is ready to accept all the countries of Eastern Europe as members if they want to join, and when democracy has taken root and their economies are capable of sustaining membership."

"I believe," she said, "we must bring the new democracies of Eastern Europe into closer association with the institutions of Western Europe."

Mrs Thatcher voiced the "hope that the Conference on Security and Cooperation (CSCE) in Europe will become the main forum for political cooperation between the two parts of Europe, because it brings together all the main European countries with the United States and the Soviet Union. We have proposed that there should be regular meetings of foreign ministers. There may also need to be permanent institutions—and I would hope that Prague would be a site for one of them."

Asked about her vision of future Europe she said she saw "a new Europe emerging based on democracy, the rule of law and market principles... I propose that we agree a European Magna Carta to entrench for every European citizen the basic rights which people in the West take for granted."

Asked to comment on the present state of human rights in Britain, Czechoslovakia and the rest of the world she said that the campaign for human rights in Eastern Europe had been won and "now we must extend that victory to the rest of the world."

"One of the fundamental differences between the democratic and the communist countries was that the latter always acted as though human rights were something which governments could give and take away at will."

"The campaign for basic human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was won by the heroism in the face of persecution by countless thousands of people, including of course the Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia."

"The Helsinki Accords were a tremendous help because they gave people in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union hope that their cause would triumph, and they gave us in the West a locus to intervene and urge the former communist governments to live up to their obligations. That successful campaign, and the courage and conviction shown by those who fought for their rights against overwhelming odds, deserves a special chapter in Europe's history of the second half of this century."

Welcomed by 'Rapturous' Crowds

LD1609184390 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1746 GMT 16 Sep 90

[By Chris Moncrieff, PRESS ASSOCIATION chief political correspondent, in Prague]

[Excerpts] Mrs Thatcher was mobbed by hundreds of Czechs in the centre of Prague today within an hour of arriving in the city.

Rapturous crowds almost overran her as she made an unannounced appearance and walk-about in the 11th century cobbled old town square.

The hundreds of promenaders, wandering about in the evening sunshine, were astonished when the prime minister, wearing a navy blue two-piece suit, trimmed with white, suddenly appeared.

Police struggled to hold back people who stretched out their hands to greet her.

Mrs Thatcher, smiling broadly, seemed totally unworried by the surging press of people surrounding her. [passage omitted]

She and Mr Denis Thatcher were greeted off the aircraft by the prime minister of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Marian Calfa.

And among the welcoming party who lined up alongside the red carpet was Mr Alexander Dubcek, the former Czech leader whose "liberal" policies led to the Soviet invasion of the country in 1968.

Today Czech people in the streets of Prague were hailing him as the grandfather of last year's popular revolution which ousted the hard-line repressive communist regime.

Mrs Thatcher inspected a guard of honour before being driven to the British Embassy for a quick briefing before setting forth on her walk-about.

Tonight, she is having dinner at the embassy with prominent citizens who are not members of the government.

Tomorrow the prime minister has talks with the chain-smoking president, Vaclav Havel, the former dissident playwright.

The two leaders did not see entirely eye to eye when Mr Havel visited London last April. They differed over the continuation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Mr Havel wanted them to wither away, but Mrs Thatcher made plain that NATO, in her opinion, must continue.

The prime minister will nevertheless praise Mr Havel for the way he has run the country since the downfall of communism. He is probably less of a Thatcherite than some of the other leaders of the newly liberated Eastern European countries.

Even so, she has been impressed with the way the new government has tackled the devastating economic problems which face the country.

She will, in a major speech on Tuesday, preach the gospel of Thatcherism and bluntly tell the Czech people that the introduction of free enterprise and market forces will be their best way forward.

Britain is all ready helping Czechoslovakia with a "know-how" fund to provide training and other facilities. No upper limit has been set on this fund.

Met by Calfa, Dienstbier

LD1609213990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her husband arrived early this evening for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. She was invited for a two-day visit by President Vaclav Havel.

Margaret Thatcher is the first British prime minister to visit our country in the more than 70-year history of Czechoslovak-British relations. Mrs. Thatcher and her husband were welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Marian

Calfa, prime minister of the federal government; Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs; and other representatives. The guests then left for the British prime minister's temporary residence at the British ambassador's house.

Mrs. Thatcher's official agenda begins tomorrow when President Havel will ceremoniously welcome her at Prague Castle. Before that the prime minister will meet with Dagmar Buresova and Petr Pithart in the Czech parliament building and Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek at the archbishop's palace. After a short sightseeing tour of Prague, Mrs. Thatcher will honor the memory of British soldiers buried in Olsany cemetery. This will be followed by an official lunch with Vaclav Havel, and the prime minister and president will then meet for bilateral talks with the participation of the federal premier. A joint news conference will follow. Talks with Marian Calfa are planned for the early evening, after which there will be a gala dinner at the British Embassy.

Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Czechoslovakia is generally considered, like the visit by French President Francois Mitterrand, as putting an end to the chapter in relations between Czechoslovakia and the Western European powers which followed the Munich agreement in September 1938.

Calfa Comments on Talks

LD1609214190 Prague CTK in English 1911 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CTK)—Britain and Czechoslovakia have reached agreement on visa-free travels between the two states and notes to this effect would be exchanged during British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's present visit to Czechoslovakia, Federal Premier Marian Calfa told CTK today.

He said Czechoslovak-British relations are being expanded in spheres which were out of the question previously. Czechoslovakia is interested in Mrs Thatcher's views on the privatization of large enterprises. The volume of Czechoslovak-British trade amounted to 640 million dollars last year and is likely to grow this year but Czechoslovakia thinks it could be much higher, Calfa said, adding he wanted to ask the British prime minister to use her influence and urge British firms to do more extensive business in Czechoslovakia.

Calfa said talks with Mrs Thatcher would focus on the issue of general customs preferences of the European Community, already accorded to Hungary and Poland. Britain, however, is of the opinion that Czechoslovakia should receive them only within the framework of an association agreement. Czechoslovakia would try to persuade Mrs Thatcher to reassess her position, Calfa added.

Czechoslovakia will also ask the prime minister whether the British know-how fund could be used to cover the stay of British experts sent to the Federal Finance Ministry to help in solving questions of privatization, Calfa stated and expressed appreciation of Mrs Thatcher's statement during her U.S. visit, calling on the European Community to count with the admission of former Soviet bloc countries if convenient political and economic conditions are installed there.

Calfa stressed the need for Czechoslovakia to receive a credit from the International Monetary Fund to introduce internal convertibility of the Czechoslovak crown, and added that Czechoslovakia would ask Mrs Thatcher that her country treat Czechoslovakia's request positively.

Referring to international political subjects to be discussed during the talks, Calfa said they should involve an exchange of views on Europe's future, as well as world topics including the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Czechoslovakia intends to consult possibilities of certain compensation for the losses inflicted on Czechoslovakia after it joined the embargo against Iraq. The talks might deal also with the question of diversifying supplies of strategic materials, such as oil from the sea deposits around the British Isles.

In connection with the forthcoming complete unification of Germany, Calfa said it will represent an extremely strong economic grouping, possibly the strongest in the world. Czechoslovakia welcomed the unification process but at the same time looks upon it with certain concern. "I have no doubt that Britain has the same feelings. We shall speak about these feelings rather than disagree with the unification," Marian Calfa said.

Hungary's Jeszenszky Meets Slovak Representatives

Comments on Minority's Rights

LD1609183490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Talks to be held tomorrow between Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and leading representatives of the Slovak Republic are expected to bring the standpoints of both countries closer together. Before his visit the Hungarian guest gave a brief interview to Czechoslovak journalists. Tomas Borec, our correspondent in Budapest, has more details:

[Borec] The aim of his talks in Bratislava will be, among other things, to ensure the Hungarian Government learns first hand the view of the leadership of the Slovak Republic and the public. Asked by Czechoslovak Radio whether the rights of ethnic minorities living in Hungary are applied in conformity with the conditions under which Hungary is to be accepted in the Council of Europe Minister Jeszenszky replies:

[Begin Jeszensky recording, in Hungarian fading into Slovak translation] I hope very much that every

researcher, every reporter who investigates this matter thoroughly will find that they have been applied, although I would not be surprised if he still did not find many things that need to be remedied. This autumn the Hungarian Government is to submit to the parliament a law on the legal position of national minorities and ethnic groups living in Hungary and their needs. Independent from this we have already set up a special governmental office, which will concern itself with these tasks. We will be very pleased to accept any recommendation that may come from our neighbors, for instance from Slovaks, relating to the needs of Slovaks living in Slovakia. [end recording]

At the close the Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky added that Hungary will continue to meet cultural and political requirements of national minorities while at the same time counting decidedly on the help of neighboring Slovakia.

Visits Slovakia 17 Sep

LD1709084490 Prague CTK in English 0752 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 17 (CTK)—After participating in yesterday's international Christian meeting "Round Table - Europe of Regions" held here, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky pays today an official visit to the Slovak Republic.

The Hungarian foreign minister paid an official visit to Czechoslovakia on August 28-29. He was received by his Czechoslovak colleague Jiri Dienstbier. They discussed inter alia the creation of an expert mixed Czechoslovak-Hungarian commission to deal with bilateral relations. The ministers agreed that all affairs concerning the rights of nationality minorities will be solved multilaterally in harmony with the principles of a proposal of the pentagonal grouping submitted to the latest session dealing with human dimension in Copenhagen.

Some 577,000 Hungarians, i.e. 11 per cent of the entire Slovak population, live in the Slovak Republic at present. A constitutional law on the position of nationalities in Czechoslovakia of 1968 guarantees the right to education in their language to them, all-round cultural development. Hungarian nationals have also their theatre, radio and television broadcasts.

Border Contacts With Poland Planned for 1 Nov

AU1309174990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRATCIE in Czech 8 Sep 90 p 1

[CTK report: "An Open Border With Poland?"]

[Text] Yesterday CSFR Premier Marian Calfa informed J. Paluch, the Polish ambassador, that the government is prepared to introduce small border contacts with Poland as of 1 November. He added that the government has assigned V. Klaus, chairman of the Czechoslovak section of the Czechoslovak-Polish Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation and finance minister, the task of swiftly discussing all the open issues associated with mutual cooperation.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Police Confirm Arms Stored at Iraqi Embassy

LD1509171290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Criminal Investigation Department confirmed, in answer to an ADN enquiry this evening, that weapons and ammunition are stored in the Iraqi Embassy in East Berlin. Manfred Bimek, the senior councellor on duty at the central investigation office, declared that appropriate steps have been taken to be able to react immediately to possible terrorist action by the Iraqis.

Iraqi Envoy Denies Arms Buildup

LD1509152690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1346 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Iraqi ambassador in East Berlin, Riyad al-Azzawi, has denied a report in today's JUNGE WELT stating that large amounts of explosives and weapons are stored on the grounds of his embassy near Pankow Park. The paper added that terrorist commandos which were about to be established may thus react to potentially anti-Iraqi decisions by the FRG. Security experts allegedly confirmed this to journalists.

The ambassador stated in response to an ADN question that the newspaper article is contradictory because it also states that the guard unit for the protection of embassies had not established any conspicuous movements by persons or materials in the vicinity of the Iraqi mission recently. Moreover, the ambassador stated, the reported figures are wrong. The embassy personnel includes only nine diplomats, not 19; only 17 technical staff, not 34.

Increased Activity by 'Arab Terrorist Circles'

LD1409175190 Hamburg DPA in German 1632 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to information from the newspaper 'NEUE WELT' [as received], the Iraqi Embassy in East Berlin is storing weapons and ammunition. A prereleased report in tomorrow's edition states that the security forces have observed intensified activities by Arab terrorist circles on GDR territory for some time. Quoting diplomatic circles, the paper states that the Iraqi Embassy now has 34 technicians. This is a disproportionately high number. In 1980 the Baghdad embassy served as a base for an attack in West Berlin.

ADN Reports on Allegations

LD1409140190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1320 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—According to a report in BILD, Palestinian terrorists were given military training and ideological schooling in the GDR at the invitation of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee between 1980 and 1986. The paper, in its Saturday edition, writes that this training came "directly under the 'security' working group in the Stasi ministry [Ministry of State Security]." Quoting a strictly confidential report by the GDR Interior Ministry, to which it had gained access, the paper states that the terrorists were given ideological training at the Stasi political science college. Each year, 10 of the best had come to the GDR and were trained as commandoes at National People's Army troops exercise grounds. At the same time a "large number" of Palestinians had been trained in the GDR at the behest of the "International Relations" Department. BILD quotes from the secret report: "That this occurred with Honecker's knowledge is an obvious assumption."

The SED's involvement in international terrorism was also shown by the fact that the terrorists lived in homes of the SED Central Committee during their stay in the GDR. They had then returned to the Arab region, where they passed on their "knowledge" to the RAF [Red Army Faction].

(The report was prereleased to ADN)

SED Trained Palestinian Terrorists in 1980-86

AU1609154490 Hamburg BILD in German 15 Sep 90 p 5

[Peter Brinkmann report: "Socialist Unity Party of Germany Trained Palestinians as Terrorists"]

[Text] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] [now Party of Democratic Socialism] used to organize the training of Palestinians as terrorists in the GDR. Between 1980 and 1986, 10 Arabs arrived in the GDR every year at the special invitation of the SED Central Committee. They were trained as "rangers" on the training area of the National People's Army. Their ideological training was carried out at the political college of the Stasi [State Security Service] secret police. According to a strictly confidential report of the GDR Interior Ministry, the training was organized by the "Security" working group in the Ministry for State Security. The International Relations Department also invited a "larger number" of Palestinians to undergo special training in the GDR. The terrorists were accommodated in buildings that belonged to the SED Central Committee.

Eppelmann Calls Stasi Allegations 'Pack of Lies'

LD1509115890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1111 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Excerpt) Leipzig (ADN)—GDR Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann (CDU) [Christian

Democratic Union] has strongly denied accusations that he had worked for the former State Security Service [Stasi]. These accusations were "a pack of lies," he said on the sidelines of the German national day of the Junge Union [youth wing of the CDU] today in response to a question from ADN. He hoped that there were not many people in the GDR who were taken in by such allegations. [passage omitted]

Minister Cleared of Suspicions

LD1609152290 Hamburg DPA in German 1425 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—The chairman of the Stasi investigation committee of the GDR People's Chamber, Joachim Gauck, has ruled out suspicions that GDR Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann from the Democratic Awakening has worked for the state security. In an interview with the Bonn newspaper "DIE WELT" (Monday edition), Gauck said that for him Eppelmann is "one of the most distinct Stasi victims, who was watched and spied on in the most varied and perfidious way." [passage omitted]

'Not Thinking of Resigning'

LD1709083390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0739 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The GDR's minister for disarmament, Rainer Eppelmann, is not thinking of resigning until the allegations against him of having worked for the State Security Service have been cleared up. Eppelmann said this this morning on Deutschlandfunk. He again expressly denied the accusation that he had been a Stasi employee. He is the one who has been most informed on and bugged by the Stasi and there is therefore a "need to explain" how he could have been entered on the list of suspects, the minister stressed. He has now gotten into a position of having to prove his innocence—a situation not envisaged in a rule-of-law state.

Eppelmann welcomed the legal measures against Werner Fischer announced by the chairman of the Stasi Investigation Committee. The former had violated the laws on the protection of data and individuals by naming Stasi suspects and has thus made himself liable to criminal proceedings.

The minister also spoke against moving the Stasi files to Koblenz and suggested setting up a documentation center in Berlin. It would not be good, Eppelmann said, "if each individual can look into his files." However, it must be ruled out that they would be treated in an irresponsible and commercial manner.

De Maiziere, Steinberg Discuss Stasi Allegations

LD1409135390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1250 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (Christian Democratic Union) [CDU], today had a meeting with Environment Minister Professor Karl-Hermann Steinberg (CDU), the subject of which was probably the accusations of alleged work for the former State Security Service [Stasi] against the minister. So far, no details have been announced either from the government spokesman's office or on the part of the Environment Ministry. [passage omitted]

Steinberg himself started a trip to Bonn, planned a long time ago, shortly after the meeting with the prime minister. At a meeting with Federal Environment Minister Toepfer and representatives of the West German packaging industry problems of the recycling industry in East Germany are to be discussed.

6,000 OibE Reportedly Active in State, Economy

AU1609151090 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 12 Sep 90 p 1

["opz/mk"-signed report: "Did Diestel Cover Up OibE?"]

[Text] In a series of verbal attacks against the citizens' committees, the People's Chamber's special committee for the disbandment of the Stasi [State Security Service], and the former head of the People's Chamber committee, Brinksmeier (Social Democratic Party of Germany), Interior Minister Diestel has rejected accusations according to which secret Stasi officers managed to achieve high-ranking positions in the Interior Ministry during his term of office. At the same time he reproached Brinksmeier for "sloppiness in dealing with the Stasi files" and accused the Citizens' Committees of having sold files. Moreover, he stated that files were destroyed and altered. The minister even doubted the validity of the special committee's list of names of the "special operations officers" ["OibE"], which, as Diestel stated, he did not see for the first time until Friday of last week [7 September]. Diestel said that not a single OibE continues to work in his area. Yet, yesterday the minister dismissed eight OibE from the Interior Ministry as a result of this list.

According to information received by DER MORGEN, even today at least 65 OibE are still active in Diestel's ministry. The interior minister has known about the existence of the OibE list for a long time. The People's Chamber's special committee instructed the state committee for the disbandment of the Stasi to draw up such a list several months ago. The committee falls under the competence of Diestel. Thus, the interior minister had access to this list at any time. "However, Diestel obviously did not want this at any time," Brinksmeier told DER MORGEN. Apart from this, the interior minister has known since April that more than 3,500 documents and personal files were stored in his state secretary's safe right in the ministry. These indicate that at least 5,000 former Stasi employees are employed by the Interior Ministry throughout the GDR." This safe has not been opened since the end of April.

In his talk with DER MORGEN, Brinksmeier countered Diestel's accusations. His committee could not treat the

documents "sloppily" because Diestel gave instructions to prevent any access. Much rather it was the interior minister himself who failed to fulfill the task assigned by the prime minister of disbanding the Stasi. Now De Maiziere must react.

How closely Diestel used to cooperate with former Stasi members is revealed by a case about which DER MORGEN has learned, the case of chief Detective Superintendent Helmut Schulz, a Stasi officer in special duties and former cadre chief of the Commissioner's Office I in the Interior Ministry [now Department III at the Central Office for Criminal Investigations]. Schulz was Diestel's number one man in connection with Stasi the files. Whenever files were inspected at Normannenstrasse [former Stasi headquarters], Schulz had to be present. In addition, DER MORGEN has found out that the number of OibE that were infiltrated by the Ministry for State Security into important position in the state and economy in the GDR is up to 6,000 and not 2,500, as was earlier assumed.

Lafontaine Visits Occupiers at Stasi Headquarters

LD1409155190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1420 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN). SPD [Social Democratic Party] candidate for chancellor, Oskar Lafontaine, today met the 22 people occupying the former Stasi [State Security Service] headquarters in Berlin. They are demanding that the future treatment of the Stasi archives be laid down in the unification treaty in exact accordance with the People's Chamber resolution. "Unfortunately, their concern was not put forward strongly enough by the GDR Government during the negotiations on the state treaty," Lafontaine said during talks with the occupiers.

He also put forward the point of view that the Stasi problem is "first of all a matter for people in the GDR." In his opinion the People's Chamber law has to be "brought into the unification treaty later." The SPD explains this by his party's motion that amendments are still possible.

Construction Minister Denies Link With Stasi

LD1609090790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0844 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's construction minister, Dr. Axel Viehweger (FDP) [Free Democratic Party], has denied accusations that he worked for the former State Security Service [Stasi]. The so-called first security vetting took place in his case at the beginning of April and his party did not nominate him for a ministerial post until it was completed, he said today in response to an inquiry from ADN. Viehweger is not a People's Chamber deputy.

The minister described the method of accusing members of the cabinet in public as "astonishing and suspect." He wants the accusations to be cleared up quickly, part of which is an inspection of the available files by the special committee. So far, the latter has to his knowledge only inspected the card index of the former Stasi. He also demands to inspect the documents relating to him.

Berlin Police Accused of Destroying Documents

LD1609194490 Hamburg DPA in German 1752 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to the Berlin newspaper TAGESZEITUNG (Monday edition) the East Berlin People's Police is currently destroying dangerous documents. On 12 September the deputy chief of police ordered all East Berlin police stations to destroy the "items of classified information within their own responsibility," which had so far been kept secret. A spokesman of the East Berlin Internal Administration declared, according to TAGESZEITUNG, the documents concerned were "highly dangerous historic material," a large portion of which dated back to the Honecker era.

The files are assumed to include political assessments and operation reports. Conclusions could be drawn concerning the participation of certain persons in police operations, for instance in actions against opposition groups. Both, West Berlin Interior Senator Erich Paetzold (SPD) [Social Democratic Party] and East Berlin Interior Counsellor Thomas Krueger (SPD) have protested against the destruction of the documents.

League Alleges 'Tens of Thousands' of Extremists

LD1609154890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1513 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—According to the League of Antifascists, there are at present several tens of thousands of organized right-wing extremists on GDR territory. They include about 8,000 Republicans and 15,000 skinheads. "Rising trends" are to be found among skinheads under 14, known as "Babyskins" and female skinheads. This was stated this weekend by Jupp Gerats, member of the League of Antifascists, at the founding meeting of the League's Halle regional association in Sachsen-Anhalt. [passage omitted]

Reportage on De Maiziere Visit to Switzerland

WA1409124090

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere to Switzerland to encourage Swiss business to make more investments in the GDR, please see the Switzerland section of the 13 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

MiG-23 Crashes at Air Show; Pilot Killed

LD1609131390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] A Hungarian military plane has crashed at Papa, and the pilot was killed. This morning there was an open air show at the Papa military airfield. At the air show a MiG-23, piloted by Major Karoly of Sopron, crashed into the ground and caught fire. The major lost his life. No other persons were injured. The accident occurred on the airfield. The investigation committee asks those people who made a video or took photographs of the accident to place them at their disposal.

Antall Refuses To Replace Foreign Minister

LD1409190590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] The Hungarian prime minister has reaffirmed that he is not willing to relieve Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. Jozsef Antall was replying to a letter addressed to him by two leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], Janos Kis and Peter Tolgyessy. The prime minister writes that SZDSZ and the other opposition parties insulted the government and the coalition parties several times. For this reason, he considers it strange that in such a matter they show oversensitivity.

Regarding foreign policy, the prime minsiter blames the opposition for the lack of good cooperation. In conclusion, Jozsef Antall closes his reply by saying that the government parties do not wish to regard themselves as the sole possessors of any political concept.

Government Spokesman Gives Press Briefing

LD1409130190 Budapest MTI in English 1058 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian legal system and the practice of giving verdicts in its courts should be brought into line with the practice of the 23 countries of the Council of Europe. The government has commissioned Minister of Justice Istvan Balsai to take the necessary steps, government spokesman Balasz Laszlo said, at his briefing in Budapest on Friday, concerning the government's Thursday session.

Mr Laszlo said the general view is that Hungary has a good chance of becoming a member of the Council of Europe in November of 1990, the first Eastern European country to do so. To achieve this, Hungary has to join several institutions of the Council of Europe, such as the Convention on Human Rights. This convention decrees, among other things, that the death penalty should be abolished, a matter still being debated in Hungary at the moment. Mr Laszlo said that no de facto death verdicts exist in Hungary today, for, as Arpad Goncz, president of the republic, said recently: No person who has been condemned to death will go without a pardon, for as long as I am in office.

The government agreed that the GDR should withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty Organization on October 2, 1990, before that state ceases to exist and the unified Germany comes into existence. The Hungarian Government has thus approved the proposal made by the GDR prime minister. According to the Hungarian Government, the original aims of the Warsaw Treaty will become even more anachronistic on the cancellation of the GDR membership, the spokesman said.

The Hungarian delegation to the general assembly of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, on September 25-27, will attend as part of the group of countries led by Belgium. The delegation will be headed by Katalin Botos, the secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance. Ms Botos has been commissioned to press for stable external financial sources and balanced markets for Hungary, as well as an institutionalized aid strategy in view of the breakdown of the East European trade system, the problems in oil supply, and debt burdens.

The network of courts and prosecutor's offices should be extended to smaller towns throughout the country. A bill is to be prepared on amending the penal code, with regard to the evaluation of foreign currency crimes. Under the government's proposal, Hungarian citizens can have unlimited amounts of foreign currency at home, as compared with 4,000 forints in the past. However, they will continue to need a permit to take their money out of the country.

Mr Laszlo also reported that the ministers of justice and finance have been commissioned to draw up the basis of a new bankruptcy law, including within that the elimination of reorganised state institutions.

Parliament Speaker Addresses News Conference

LD1409193290 Budapest MTI in English 1352 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—The autumn session of parliament will continue on Monday and Tuesday, with a break in plenary sessions between September 22 and october 14, Speaker Gyorgy Szabad told his usual Friday press conference.

Szabad pointed out that the privatization bill and the parliamentary draft proposal on the the judgement and distribution of central subsidies for social organizations had yet to be discussed before the planned break.

Parliament will be hosting such guests as Enrique Baron Crespio, president of the European Parliament, Otto von Habsburg, chairman of the European Assembly's Committee on Hungary, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister.

The land law will not heard in parliament before the break because the government has not yet submitted it.

Eager anticipation awaits the interpolation of Peter Tolgyessy, faction head of the Alliance of Free Democrats with regard to the aggravation of the global crisis.

Official: No 'Shock Therapy' for Privatization

LD1409132690 Budapest MTI in English 1053 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 14, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government is not going to apply shock therapy in its privatization programme, Mr Gyorgy Matolcsy, political state secretary at the Prime Minister's Office, assured his audience when he outlined the government's privatization plans at a conference [of] the Society for Organization and Management Science held at Gyor, western Hungary.

Generally speaking, the Hungarian economy is different from the economies of Eastern Europe, Mr Matolcsy said, in that sort of latent market economy has been present in Hungary since the beginning of the eighties. This market economy may well take over the positions state companies will be obliged to give up.

He said he believes the Hungarian economic system stands a chance of completing most of the transformation process in the first half of the next decade, and cutting back the proportion of state property to under 40 percent from the current 90 percent will also be possible.

Mr Matolcsy pointed out that the government was in favour of establishing a developed market economy in which institutional ownership will play a determining role alongside private and family property. The institutional investors he had in mind would include social security organizations—to be built up in the next few years in the form of pension funds—and also investment banks, commercial banks and local authorities.

The state will not play a decisive role in the transformation process, he went on, though it may initiate privatization through the state property agency or the stock exchange.

To dispel any uncertainties certain groups of senior company managers and staff have regarding privatization, Mr Matolcsy stressed that state companies will also be entitled to initiate privatization themselves, provided the whole thing is done above board and in the open. Private entrepreneurs and Hungarian and foreign entrepreneurial groups outside the company sphere may also act as initiators, he said. The aim, he pointed out, was that every potential participant should be given an equal chance in the transformation process.

Turning to the financial sources for the processs, Mr Matolcsy said one would be tax concessions on investments. He said he felt the extent of such concessions would be made widely known in two months' time when the new taxation scheme, which takes effect in 1991, is made public. The other financial source will be privatization loans, which link up income from privatization with the reduction of internal state debts. The government will discuss the details next week, he added. An existence ("E") bank will be set up to provide loans for the formation of new enterprises, and a privatization bond will also be introduced; it is planned this will give funds for purchasing state property.

As an alternative to employee participation, the political state secretary said it might be possible that a certain proportion of the shares a state company issues will be put up for sale to employees.

On the subject of foreign participation, he emphasized that the government does not intend setting limits on the proportion of any foreign stake.

Landownership Issues To Be Settled in Oct

LD1509195190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] In Hungary the issues of landownership are expected to be settled as soon as next month, following the parliamentary debate. This was said by the political state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, at the national conference organized by the Economic Committee of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] in Szekszard. Laszlo Sarossy, speaking for the ministry, said that under the conditions of the market economy, the cooperatives will have to be made competitive, since privatization by itself will not resolve the production problems of the branch. As he said, apart from the 20-50 hectare farms, we will have to maintain the cooperatives of several hundred or perhaps thousand acres, and agriculture will have to be made more competitive through the cooperation of these two.

New Electrical Energy Trade Union Formed

LD1609175990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] The Electrical Energy Industry Trade Union Association, formed from one of the sections of VASAS [Trade Union of Iran, Metal, and Electric Power Industry Workers], has broken away from the latter. The founding congress at the same time decided to retain its links with the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], although it does not identify with its present leadership. The Electrical Energy Industry Trade Union Association elected as its chairman Andrea Szegoe who was recently suspended from the function of deputy chairman of MSZOSZ.

Szabad Responds to Romanian Letter on Relations

LD1709101890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0840 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Speech by Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of the National Assembly, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Before the agenda [is read] the speaker would like to make an announcement. The president of the Senate of the Romanian Parliament and the president of its House of Representatives addressed a letter to me,

attached to which was the Romanian Parliament's resolution of 29 August dealing with historical issues. I will reply to the letter. I would like to indicate and outline the content of my letter.

My reply will center on the fact that we judge the very important issues of the past differently in many points. This, however, cannot prevent us from agreeing with the statement of the Romanian Parliament's leader according to which it is justified for both peoples to replace the former hatred and scorn with conciliation, freedom, and tolerance.

I will gladly welcome the Romanian Parliament's statement to the effect that the Romanian peoples' will is to build a pluralist society which, in the future, wishes to guarantee identical rights, freedom, and responsibility for the country's citizens, both Romanians and national minorities.

I will declare that I welcome the Romanian Parliament's wish for a constructive dialogue to come into being between the Hungarian parliament and the Romanian Parliament in the spirit of the basic principles and values of democracy and freedom, in order that also thereby we might help in shaping the atmosphere of friendship, understanding, and good neighborliness between our countries.

To put it plainly, the content of my reply will be that in the judgement of the past—whose examination is the professional task of historians—our views can differ, but the text of politicians is to create understanding in the present and cooperation that will pervade the future. I think that our parliaments are proceeding in the same direction. Thank you for your attention.

Budapest Cites Goncz's U.S. News Conference

LD1409204690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Hungary is considering sending medical troops to the international force opposing Iraq.

This was announced by President Arpad Goncz at his news conference in Washington, which ended minutes ago. As he said, the details still need to be worked out, but under the UN flag the sending of such a Hungarian unit to the Persian Gulf region is possible.

The president, who was speaking at the Washington Press Club, referred to the fact that the Gulf crisis punishes us three-fold because until now, we have purchased oil from Iraq, Kuwait wanted to invest $400 million in Hungary, and the rise in the price of oil imposes great burdens on the country.

We would not protest help in easing our losses, the Hungarian president emphasized at his news conference.

Antall Leaves on Four-Day Visit to Italy

LD1409131190 Budapest MTI in English 1232 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—At noon on Friday, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall left on a four-day official visit to Rome at the invitation of his counterpart, Giulio Andreotti. Pope John Paul II is to give private audience to Antall on Monday.

Horn Supports Central-Eastern European Council

LD1409222890 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—The European Community should set up a Central and Eastern European council, Gyula Horn, chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Hungarian parliament, proposed at the National Conference of Young German Economists in Munich. "The council would have the task to promote, establish and strengthen democracy among the nations of Central and East European. The European Community should serve as a prime mover for development not only in the twelve member states, but also in the 33 states that make up Europe as a whole," Horn said.

In his view, by the mid-1990s Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland will reach a stage of economic development that will qualify them for entry into the European Community.

Horn, the former Hungarian foreign minister, put the estimate of the Eastern Europe's aggregate debt towards the West at 110,000 million dollars. He called upon the European Community to help erase the pressing debt burden.

Horn termed it as regrettable that the idea of a second Marshall Plan had been shelved. He compared the current situation of Eastern Europe to that of Western Europe in the post-war years. "We are unable to find a solution by ourselves," the chairman of the foreign affairs committee said.

Envoy Gives Lukyanov Message for Gorbachev

LD1409212690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Hungary's ambassador to Moscow has handed over to the chairman of the Soviet legislative body the letter that Arpad Goncz has written to Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as the message which Gyorgy Szabad, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, has sent to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. At the meeting, Anatolliy Lukyanov said to Sandor Gyorke that the positive elements of Hungarian-Soviet relations must be preserved, and that cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries should be promoted.

Skubiszewski Protests Iraqi Violations in Kuwait

LD1609160290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has issued a strong protest against the continued violation of international law by Iraqi bodies in Kuwait. The minister stressed the need for international solidarity in demanding a return to the rule of law in the Arabian Peninsula, in the Persian Gulf region.

Osiatynski Claims USSR Breaks Oil Agreement

LD1509103390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2230 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Planning Minister Jerzy Osiatynski has told the Polish Press Agency that the Soviet Union has given notice that it will cut off all oil supplies to Poland next year. Poland has traditionally been almost totally dependent on the Soviet Union for its oil.

Mr. Osiatynski accused Moscow of breaking an agreement with the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government on the matter. He said the pledges made by Moscow in the past year were to keep supplies to Poland of fuels and raw materials at the (?1980) level until 1995.

Joint Initiative With Austria on CSCE Process

LD1409031290 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 13 Sep 90

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Vienna, Sept. 13—Polish and Austrian delegations today forwarded a joint initiative at the Vienna committee preparing the Paris summit of heads of 35 states and governments. The Polish-Austrian initiative is based on Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowieckis idea to institutionalize the CSCE process.

Poland and Austria proposed that the meetings of 35 heads of states and governments could be held every second year and that the meetings of foreign ministers could be held regularly twice a year and be preceded by the meetings of high-level representatives of foreign ministries. The Polish-Austrian plan specifies also organizational and protocol details of these meetings.

The initiative of both countries was consulted earlier with delegations of many states of Eastern and West Europe. Today, the initiative gained the immediate support of delegations of a dozen or so states.

After Poland's representative Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski had addressed todays session of the committee, Austrian Delegate Ambassador Vukovich stressed Poland's special role in preparing the joint initiative of both states.

'Tightened' Terms of Transit to West Berlin

LD1409031790 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 13—The Polish Foreign Ministry's consular and emigration department said that despite earlier denial of spokesman of the FRG Interior Ministry and firm interventions on the part of the Polish Foreign Ministry, the interior ministries of both German states decided to introduce changed terms of transit to West Berlin for Polish citizens starting from September 14. The tightened regulations of border control were introduced to establish the real aim of travel.

Polish authorities accept with regret the decision mentioned above as another burdensome limitation to travel of Poles to West European countries and stress that poland is a country open to broad European cooperation, freedom of travel and consolidation of contacts among people. In this context, the present decision by the GDR and FRG authorities contradicts the direction of Polish strivings, agreements binding with the GDR and the spirit and the letter of the CSCE documents, particularly provisions of the Vienna and the Copenhagen conferences. In this situation, Polish authorities reserve themselves the right to take proper steps in bilateral and multilateral relations.

Poland's Role in United Europe Examined

PM1309154990 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 11 Aug 90 p 13

[Ryszard Wojna article: "What Kind of Poland Does Europe Need?"]

[Text] I visited Frankfurt am Main recently. Speakers from 10 countries, including myself, presented their viewpoint on a united Germany. But they did so from a specific angle. The organizer of the conference was the "Informedia" Foundation, which represents the interests of the Unions of German Employers.

German businessmen wanted to find out from us whether and to what an extent the popular image of contemporary Germany as perceived abroad contains the element of German "tuchtigkeit." The Greek Catholic Church dignitary present at the conference informed us that this word is thought to have an exact equivalent only in ancient Greek. In European languages its meaning is usually rendered by whole phrases to express its sense of industriousness, thriftiness, scrupulosity, reliability, and providence, depending on the tenor of the whole sentence in which it is used. Our hosts gave us to understand that this quality of "tuchtigkeit" is one of the fundamental German virtues. Opinions of the invited guests varied. In my own conference address, I took the liberty of pointing out that the German perfectionism in the implementation of the fundamental tenets of their system found its expression in the past both in the extremely efficient functioning of the Nazi state apparatus and in the work of the exemplary model of West German democracy. Everything depends on the

"aufgabe"—that is, the tasks and objectives which the Germans and their state set before themselves.

But this is not what I want to write about today. These deliberations belong to the category of timeless questions to which we can return at any time we wish. I only noted, for my purely personal use, that the highest quality on which employers in a united Germany place their stakes is the ingrained industriousness of their people. Look out, Europe! This is a challenge to us all!

On the other hand, I was surprised to see that the occasion of our conference did not give rise to a debate on Poland and that I was not asked even a single question about our internal situation. Such indifference would have been unthinkable in both the more recent and more distant past. It was not until the conference was interrupted for a coffee break that I was approached by several journalists—economic affairs experts—who asked me to enlighten them on the significance of the splits within the ruling camp in Poland. I set about enlightening them as best I could until one of them asked me: "I read in a dispatch by our Warsaw correspondent that one of Walesa's supporters declared publicly (since his address was relayed by both Polish Radio and Television) 'We are Poles, whereas they are Europeans,' referring to the position taken, for example, by Michnik or Geremek. Could you tell me the reason for this astonishing contradistinction? What are its sources?"

Well, should I have told him that the contradistinction was not new at all; that only the vocabulary has changed, because at one time the word which was designed to alienate certain personalities from the nation was "cosmopolite"?

Looking at this question from their own angle, my interlocutors would not have understood why the two terms, "German" and European" should represent different political programs. So in the event they shook their heads doubtfuily at my attempts—most likely quite inept—to boil down the whole problem to the difference in the emphasis placed on various elements of the policies of the two currents into which, broadly speaking, the wide political front which developed within Solidarity has divided itself—elements which go back all the way to the origins of the Workers Defense Committee [KOR].

And here are fragments of a different conversation. "You appeal to the Germans," I was told by a young businessman, "to steer clear of nationalistic attitudes—among other reasons because of the marked susceptibility to such attitudes in postsocialist states. Surely it is not German but your own nationalism that could create a stumbling block on the way to an integrated Europe. Even today my friends are wondering whether there is any point in investing in Poland, considering that political forces which play on anti-German feelings are currently gaining strength there. We prefer to take our capital to Hungary, to Czechoslovakia, and—first and foremost—in East Germany."

On the occasion of that visit I also met with an old friend of mine, a Social Democratic Party [SPD] deputy to the Bundestag and a trusted friend of Poland. He was coming back from Warsaw, where he was involved in mediation between German businessmen and our own construction companies. He did not get very far with the negotiations. He complained about our bureaucratic apparatus and its fears lest it be compelled to assume responsibility for large-scale economic decisions.

"You ought to know," he told me, "that at this very moment the West is watching you with increased attention, even though not much is being said or written about this scrutiny here. It is only now that we are beginning to find out what kind of Poland and what kind of Polish society are now emerging after the period of that so-called socialism. I am, for example, endlessly amazed by the tenacity with which your political forces keep referring to the Poland of half a century ago. This is, perhaps, understandable from a psychologists' viewpoint, but not from a politician's. After all, these are two different worlds, with completely dissimilar historical influences and determinants. In the eyes of Western Europe the period between the first and second world wars represents an ancient past, which can provide no models, frames of reference, or comparisons with the present time."

In turn, I asked him: "And what kind of Poland does Europe need, in your opinion?"

He replied: "Contemporary with us."

It must be added that our exchange caused him obvious embarrassment. As a rule, whenever our German friends come to criticize us, they do it with extreme caution, lest they fall into the role of patronizing mentor.

It is indeed true that international relations in West Europe have acquired a new quality and new dimension over the past half-century. First of all, the relation between state and society has undergone a change. The state has lost its Hegelian identity, in the name of which it had subordinated the citizen to its overriding interests. This was the firm foundation of the 19th-century concept of patriotism. Today I would have to reach far back into memory to find instances when leaders of West European state leaders would have appealed to their compatriots' patriotic sentiments. And this does not mean that the concept of patriotism itself has been devalued and condemned. Not at all! But its substance has undergone a fundamental change. Its parochial associations have been well and truly exploded. It is only the extreme right orientation which appeals to the sentiment of national chauvinism nowadays, and the extreme right does not exert much influence over governments. Finding solutions to economic and social problems has nowadays moved to the forefront of any state's range of duties—and that generally within a framework of suprastate considerations!

By now, the idea of European identity has indeed taken deep roots in the Western part of the continent. There

are times when we find this difficult to come to terms with. I myself remember a time when I looked with profound distaste at joint games organized by young people from France and Germany in the fields near Verdun, which are in effect a vast burial ground of more than a million dead who fell there in the World War I battle. But eventually I simply had to acknowledge that those young people find it too fantastic and inconceivable today even to imagine that someone could actually drive hundreds of thousands of them against one another toward certain death. After all, they are all united through a shared outlook on life which incorporates such ideas as human rights and that political democracy which is rooted in the concept of human rights. The patriotic value of sacrificing one's life for one's homeland represents for them merely an outdated historic category. You should live for your homeland—and live comfortably!—rather than die for it. Their pride in and sense of belonging to their nations are these days expressed predominantly in the cultural sphere, in their attachment to national customs and the accepted way of life, in the climate created precisely by the sense of belonging where one is comfortable in familiar surroundings. In France, for example, echoes of patriotic high notes are heard only during the 11 November celebrations and on the anniversary of De Gaulle's June 1940 appeal from London, but even here the contemporary resonance of both these manifestations has been growing weaker from one year to the next.

Even the prospect of unification of the two German states, which has aroused and continues to arouse feelings of anxiety and disquiet among a proportion of Western public opinion, is viewed in categories much different from those which would have been applicable in the first half of the century. The main threat is not thought to be from German militarism but in a future reinforcement of the position of German economy within the structures of European Community.

Incidentally, it is clear that Europe must prepare not only for the presence of an 80-million strong German state within its bounds, but also for the cultural and civilizational influences which will radiate from the German-speaking area within Europe totaling some 100 million people. In the present era of electronic means of communications this German bloc will shape the face of the center of Europe.

Furthermore, the traditional concept of balance of forces—which was so close to Metternich's heart and which continued, in a whole array of variants, until very recently—are now receding into historical past. Indeed, the whole strategic doctrine of the Warsaw Pact was based on the objective of preserving such a balance. Today we must all take into account Germany's dominant position, at least in our corner of the continent. However, the challenge that this domination poses is not military but civilizational and economic. Foreign policy pursued by West European states and the whole of the EEC is by now well-adapted to accommodate such an evolution of the concept of one state's domination over others. Today this policy is concerned first and foremost with economic considerations.

This is also the angle from which the West is watching us today. Manifestations of a revival of the supposedly typical old Polish trait of parochial arrogance (Polish versus European) make many Western commentators view skeptically the chances of Poland's speedy catching up with and joining the integrative structures of West Europe. We must also point out that until very recently these specific traits and manifestations of our patriotic attitudes were quite highly valued in France, Germany, or Britain. They were regarded as evidence of the force which was eventually to explode the whole socialist camp. But today our services are no longer required to destroy the structures of international communism. Anti-Sovietism is losing its selling value. True, no one knows what kind of Russia will emerge from the convulsions of perestroyka, but the personalities and the forces which decide Western policies know that Russia will for ever exert an influence over Europe and that it will always constitute one of the opposite extremes of world politics. In this context it is worth taking a close and careful look at the meticulous and farsighted way in which Chancellor Kohl is preparing to secure the interests of a united Germany in Moscow.

And what do we do? We use our attitudes to the Germans and the Russians to serve as the principal dividing lines in our internal policies while sounding warnings all round and to one another against all forms of becoming dependent; all the while the world's leading states are resolutely and determinedly moving toward a policy of creating ever wider areas of interdependence.

The policy of each and every country contains certain universal elements—that is, elements which map out the guidelines which will govern the course of our policies in the international arena—and certain particular elements. With us, the latter decidedly gain an upper hand over the former, with the latter often represented in their extreme, parochial form. In the present circumstance, anyway, definite pressure of this kind is being exerted over the government by a group belonging to its own camp. This certainly evokes mixed feelings in the West.

Do we have to take note of these trends? Well if we want to join Western structures and gain wide access to Western capital and technology, if we plan to become serious partners of the West and want to be treated accordingly, we must, in our internal policy, take into consideration the logical premises according to which the highly developed states operate.

The West is not going to come to the assistance of an arrogantly parochial Poland. Involvement of Western capital presupposes universally accepted norms and rules of the game. This is why those who control that capital are carefully watching for evidence of which side, group or orientation in Poland is looked upon favorably by Western opinion-making groups.

NATO Secretary General Arrives for Talks

Woerner Interviewed Prior to Visit

LD1309135590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by Krzysztof Turowski in Brussels; date not given—Woerner and Turowski speak in French with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already informed you, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner is arriving in Poland on a four-day visit today. During the first day of his stay in Poland, the guest will have talks with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Minister for Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, and, in the Sejm, the Foreign Affairs and Defense Commissions. Before leaving on his trip to Poland, Manfred Woerner gave an interview to our correspondent Krzysztof Turowski in Brussels.

[Begin recording] [Turowski] What, in your opinion, are the optimal conditions for the future of Europe and the world?

[Woerner] The ideal conditions would involve a new architecture and structure for the whole of contemporary Europe, including the Soviet Union. [Word indistinct] what we want. We want to build a new Europe.

[Turowski] From the Urals to Lisbon?

[Woerner] Yes, of course. I would say even further still. This means that we must find a multidimensional agreement. I think that the elements for this new Europe already exist. I would like to cite four of them: the process of developing the EEC, which should be expanded to include East European countries, neutral countries, and NATO member states; then, the role of the EC in trying to bring Warsaw Pact countries into association; next, the part which the Council of Europe also plays in European construction; and, finally, our alliance, which is the stabilizer and pillar of this new structure, since NATO links the United States to Europe, which, I think, is essential for stabilization, and makes any increase whatsoever in tension or the threat of war in Europe impossible. [end recording]

[Announcer] Krzysztof Turowski was speaking to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

Received by Mazowiecki 13 Sep

LD1309221290 Warsaw PAP in English 1846 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 13—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. The meeting lasted about an hour.

Gives News Conference on Talks

LD1509040490 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—My visit to Poland, the first visit by NATO secretary-general to this country, is a proof that cold war is a thing of the past. We try to use the situation to turn confrontation into cooperation, said NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner during a press conference today after talks with President Wojciech Jaruzelski and National Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. A day earlier, the NATO secretary-general had talks with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

At the conference, Woerner stressed that these talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and sincerity of the expressed views, which, in his opinion, shows Poland's great commitment to the same humanitarian and democratic values that NATO believes in. Woerner voiced recognition for the Polish people that contributed to changes throughout East Europe, assuring that he follows Poland's efforts to strive at democracy and market economy with friendliness.

The NATO secretary-general told the conferees about conveying an invitation to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The invitation is addressed in the London declaration to leaders of countries of Central and East Europe to come to Brussels and to address the North Atlantic Council. He conveyed also an invitation to National Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk to pay a visit to the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

Taking part in the conference, Minister Skubiszewski said that Poland was satisfied over maintaining permanent contacts with NATO. Poland established them as an independent state, pursuing its own foreign policy. He added that the creation of a climate of security in Europe was impossible without cooperation with NATO and this is the reason for such a great role of this alliance.

On Saturday [15 September], Woerner will visit Gdansk to meet Lech Walesa there and will lay a wreath at Westerplatte on Sunday, the last day of his visit.

ROAD Wants Mazowiecki To Run for President

AU1209181490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Sep 90 p 1

[Pawel Lawinski report: "ROAD Increases Pressure on Mazowiecki"]

[Text] Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD], intends to increase its pressure on Tadeusz Mazowiecki to stand for the presidency. Halina Bortnowska informed us that at its Saturday meeting, ROAD's Coordination Commission (formed a week earlier), decided to hold consultations on this matter with other forces of the Krakow Alliance.

The prime minister could make a declaration on the matter before the end of September, after the Sejm has held its debate on constitutional amendments regarding the presidency. The commission rejected propositions that it should begin the election campaign without waiting for Mazowiecki to officially confirm that he will stand. "It is clear that we will wait for the prime minister to make up his mind," said commission member Henryk Wujec.

The commission debated the political calendar and came to the conclusion that the suggestion made recently by Secretary of State Piotr Nowina-Konopka to hold simultaneous parliamentary and presidential elections was unrealistic. ROAD still feels that presidential elections should take place before the parliamentary ones.

Last week, ROAD's Zbigniew Bujak and Henryk Wujec held talks with Minister Aleksander Hall on the political timetable.

It is probable that ROAD will hold its national congress before the end of the year and elect its leadership, said Wujec. He emphasized however, that ROAD's voivodship organizations had to be sufficiently strong to put forward candidates for the congress. The date of the congress would depend on the political temperature in the fall.

Mazowiecki Addresses Social Democrat Deputies

LD1309225490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki was the guest of the parliamentary floor group of the Polish Social Democratic Union. Speaking about the current political situation in Poland, the prime minister stressed that the movement which he originated from sooner or later had to split up. Referring to his appeal to speed up the parliamentary elections, Tadeusz Mazowiecki emphasized that a situation where there were no elections but a situation whereby a nonstop electoral campaign was going on needed to be stopped.

Mazowiecki Recommends Privatization Chief

LD1309144690 Warsaw PAP in English 1109 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. [dateline as received]—The Sejm Committee for Ownership Transformations today accepted the candidacy of Waldemar Kuczynski for the office of minister of ownership transformations.

While recommending the candidate, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that Kuczynski had vast economic knowledge and being the prime minister's close aide and chief of his team of advisors, he also commanded extensive knowledge and intuition in the political and social sphere. This particular knowledge may be especially important if speeding-up privatization processes happen to spark conflicts, the prime minister added.

Kuczynski said he is going to seek the best privatization procedures for Poland and he is inclined to look for them among the variants tested in the West.

Sejm Accepts Communications Minister Candidate

LD1309121390 Warsaw PAP in English 1009 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 13—The Sejm Trade and Services Committee this morning accepted Deputy Jerzy Slezak of the Democratic Party as candidate nominated by the prime minster for the office of communications minister.

Slezak said that a telephone cannot be a luxury item but "something as common as a bird." The prime minister told the deputies that minister of communications who held the office to date, Marek Kucharski, had resigned.

Sejm Approves Farming Minister Candidate

LD1309111890 Warsaw PAP in English 1008 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 13—The Sejm (lower house) Committee for Agriculture and Food Economy approved the candidature of Deputy Janusz Bylinski (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) for farming minister at its meeting held here today before the Sejm plenary session.

There were 87 votes for, 7 against, and one abstention.

While recommending the candidature, Prime Minister Mazowiecki underlined that Janusz Bylinski is a competent, well-trained farmer, experienced in the Sejm work.

Walesa To Announce Presidency Decision 'Soon'

LD1309192190 Warsaw PAP in English 1838 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 13—Lech Walesa told a press conference here today he would soon announce his decision whether he would run for the next presidential elections.

When asked about his opinion on a meeting at the Polish primate's, planned to take place on September 18, Lech Walesa said it was necessary.

While assessing the year of the Mazowiecki government, the Solidarity chairman said he theoretically supported the government but in practice he was dissatisfied.

Walesa Confirms Presidential Candidacy

LD1709103390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] While our correspondents were reporting the foreign news, we received the anticipated information from Gdansk. Lech Walesa has made the following statement:

I made the decision today to offer for public acceptance my readiness to run in general elections for the office of

president of the Polish Republic. This is for me the completion of the oath made in August 1980.

[Signed] Lech Walesa.

Citizens Committees Favor Early Election

AU1309074990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Tomasz Regulski report: "A Third Force"]

[Text] The conference of citizens committees that was held in Warsaw on 9 September came out in favor of the election of a new president before the end of this year as well as the dissolution of parliament before the end of its current term and the holding of parliamentary elections in the spring of 1991 at the latest. There was no vote on the proposal to back Lech Walesa as a candidate for the office of president. However, a procedural code for citizens committee conferences was adopted. Bronislaw Geremek was the only guest invited to attend the conference who was actually present at it.

The conference resolution stated that "the first step on the path to democracy should be General Wojciech Jaruzelski's resignation from the post of president as quickly as possible and the holding of general presidential elections before the end of this year."

The delegates came out in favor of dissolving the parliament before its term of office expires and the holding of a Sejm and Senate election in the spring of next year at the latest. "In light of this, the conference appeals to parliament to pass the necessary election legislation, adopt an election timetable, and limit legislative activity to the most essential items of normative legislation...."

The conference was of the opinion that the constitution of the Republic of Poland should be passed by a new parliament. The committees want to participate in work on its provisions. In a special resolution, the delegates asked the Sejm and Senate constitutional commissions to draw up a list of basic problems relating to the treatment of the political and economic system and social policy in the future constitution. The list would serve as the basis for a public debate that would be organized and conducted by the citizens committees.

The conference called on the Sejm to rapidly adopt an electoral code "which will ensure the election of a stable, strong, and representative parliament." The precise form that the code should have was not defined, because individual committees differ in their position on this question. A poll conducted in the hall revealed that 28 voivodship structures were in favor of a simple majority code; 13 were in favor of a code providing for proportional representation with a minimum share of the vote requirement; and 8 were in favor of a mixed code.

The conference resolution also states that "citizens committees will decide independently on participation and the fielding of candidates in the upcoming elections." The debate on this point revealed a marked divergence of views. Alongside opinions stating that the citizens committees should follow their own course, one mapped out by Lech Walesa and the "Solidarity" ethos (a delegate from Ostroleka), warnings against turning the committees into a political party were also expressed (Krzysztof Zmijewski, Warsaw). How the committees should participate in the election is something that the local committees themselves will decide. The aforementioned poll showed that 24 voivodship structures see themselves as being active participants in political activity; 23 see themselves in the role of both organizers and active participants in the elections; and three see themselves solely in the role of organizers in the elections. One committee does not want to take part in the elections at all.

A heated debate followed the submission, by a delegate from Zamosc, of a draft resolution backing Lech Walesa as a candidate in presidential elections. Apart from those who were ready to support its adoption, some of those in the hall were opposed to voting on the draft. It was felt that they did not have the authority to vote on the issue. Senator Jerzy Stepien had the last say, stating that it would be a "disservice" to Walesa. There was no vote on the proposal, and it will probably appear on the agenda of the next conference.

However, a declaration was adopted on the organization of government administrative regions. The regions were roundly criticized for stripping local government bodies of many of their powers. Delegates expressed the view that power was being centralized, that the administration was assuming horrendous dimensions, and that regional administrative offices were being staffed with members of the old nomenklatura.

The delegates also passed a statute for citizen committee conferences. In line with its provisions, the citizens committees will operate "without the formation of permanent central representative bodies and structures." The citizens committee conference will cooperate with the Lech Walesa Citizens Committee, but will be independent of it. The committees are a forum in which all citizens who identify with the "Solidarity" ethos can cooperate and are not a forum for cooperation between political parties.

Conferences can be attended by all voivodship citizens committees, even if there are several such committees in a given voivodship. It was decided that a national level meeting will be held once a month. Each conference will determine the date and agenda of the subsequent conference. A bureau with a staff of two will perform exclusively technical functions between conferences. A proposals commission, which will be chosen by each conference, will determine the agenda of the subsequent conference.

In addition to a program commission and a mandate commission, the delegates also appointed a team for

dealing with matters relating to the debate on the constitution. The next conference will be devoted to the subjects of privatization and an electoral code for parliamentary elections.

Primate's Political 'Common Sense' Appeal

AU1309132190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Primate Calls For Common Sense"]

[Text] "The church will pray that all the proposed changes, the so-called acceleration, can take place in dignity and with common sense, and that institutions such as the Sejm, the government, or the presidency are not dragged through the mud," stated Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp in an interview he gave to PAP last Monday. "There will be other presidents, different Sejm's and governments, but the institutions will remain and they have to be respected" he continued.

The primate called for political maturity: "Because in some way this will also influence the atmosphere of next year's papal visit to Poland."

Asked why there was no strong Christian-Democratic movement in Poland, the primate replied: "We have pluralism and everyone is seeking the nuances that he prefers in the whole spectrum from the Center Accord to the Citizens' Movement-Democratic Action and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. There are people with Christian values everywhere."

According to the primate, the Christian-Democrats do not have the people who are capable of arousing support from people of the same political orientation.

Farmers Threaten To Use 'Protest Campaign'

AU1309141190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Sep 90 p 2

['Aga'-signed report: "Will They Occupy the Ministry of Agriculture Again?"]

[Text] If the government does not reach agreement with the Farmers' Protest Committee, then from 1 October farmers from the whole of Poland will start coming to Warsaw and the occupation of the Ministry of Agriculture offices could take place all over again, threatened the committee.

The Farmers' Protest Committee held a meeting in Sandomierz on 8 September. Over 100 hundred farmers from the Szczecin, Tarnow, Krosno, and Zielona Gora Voivodships were unanimous that:

—Since the July agreement (over two months ago), the government has done nothing to ameliorate the situation in farming communities;

—The government's attitude is antipeasant and against national interests, because 40 percent of the population in Poland still live in villages;

—Farming communities are still without finance to procure grain, rape seed, sugar beet, and potatoes;

—Nobody wants to buy grain or livestock from farmers and thus they intend to pay their taxes with these goods instead of money;

—The Agricultural Market Agency is only active on paper;

—They must be told who authorized the use of force against farmers who were occupying the Ministry of Agriculture in Warsaw.

Those at the meeting called for the government to resign. If this does not happen they will call upon all Sejm deputies to pass a vote of no confidence in the government.

Piotr Dabrowski, a spokesman for the National Council of Farmers "Solidarity", told GAZETA WYBORCZA that the union would only take a stand on the issue if another occupation actually started. However, he would certainly not support calls for the government's resignation.

The Agriculture Ministry said it knew nothing about the meeting or any proposals to occupy its offices.

GAZETA WYBORCZA was unable to establish whom the members of the committee actually represent. It is known that they represent various agricultural circles, Farmers' "Solidarity," and the Polish Peasant Party. Committee members stated that they represent themselves. We recall that it was these very same people who occupied the Ministry of Agriculture offices at the end of June.

Foreign Ministry Communique on Embargo Observance

AU1409170990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1535 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Press Release From the Foreign Ministry"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—In a communique released on Friday afternoon, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows it learned with satisfaction of a statement by the spokesman for the U.S. Department of State on September 13, 1990 pointing out that there was no truth in the news that the Department of State thought Romania imported oil from Iraq or in any way violated the embargo imposed on that country and that, from the very beginning, Romania had been a firm supporter of the sanctions against Iraq and had played a positive role in many of the issues related to the Gulf crisis.

The fact is regrettable, the communique also shows, that prestigious mass media carry unverified pieces of news which can jeopardize Romania's foreign policy on an issue of prime political and diplomatic concern for the international community, an issue in connection with which Romania has had a faultless conduct that has fully accorded with all UN Security Council resolutions on the Gulf crisis.

Dragos-Munteanu Denies Embargo Violations

AU1409191590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Romania Around the World: The Embargo Is Observed"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—"The reports that Romania is not able to observe the Security Council resolutions on Iraq are [word indistinct] stated to daily ADEVARUL Mr. Aurel Dragos-Munteanu, who had presided over the UN Security Council in August. "Romania strictly observes all was negotiated by Romania. As is known, it was voted with only two abstentions Cuba's and Yemen's. Nobody voted against, which is a result of the very patient negotiations, conducted most energetically and tactfully by our country's delegation. Judging by the elaborate form of the above-mentioned information items and by the care to ensure their simultaneous dissemination through several media, it is not difficult to infer that they emanate from quarters that try to spoil the good image Romania's foreign policy has built for itself through the firm and clear-cut stand at the United Nations, especially in the month of August."

In connection with the intentions of some of the media that circulated such calumnies to allege they have data from UN sources, the collocutor said: "Assertions made by the ambassador of another state in the 661 Committee debates on controlling the application of the sanctions stipulated in the Security Council resolution were abusively interpreted. Maybe, it is about the fact that the respective ambassador made a general assertion in the committee, based on Article 50 in the UN Charter that stipulates the states' right to consult the Security Council when the application of the sanctions seriously affects their own interests. In the spirit of the provisions of that article, that ambassador stressed that the role of the 661 committee was precisely to assist the states that are afflicted the most by the consequences of the application of the resolution.

"I do not understand how could such an assertion of another country's ambassador be associated with the name of Romania that has clearly and firmly declared in support of the Security Council resolution.

"I would like to touch also another aspect. It has been hinted that Romania offered Iraq humanitarian aid. This too, has nothing to do with the truth. Romania's representative clearly said in the 661 Committee that he understood the possibility of humanitarian aid only in the event that the respective committee or the Security Council give like interpretation to the respective provision in the endorsed resolution, based on firm criteria as regarded the notion of humanitarian aid.

"The circulated false reports are probably manipulated for political purposes by quarters that are interested in spoiling Romania's image. I do not want to be vague in this respect. I do not think there are sovereign states that take into consideration such reports, I do not know any government or state in the organization's membership to have stated such a thing about Romania. The respective reports are however harmful, as they give a wrong image of Romania and may influence public opinion. I have deep regard for the governments of the UN member-states and I do not think it possible that such reports influence any government's decision or behavior in relation to Romania."

Romanian, Soviet Moldavian Parties To Cooperate

AU1609203390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 90 p 4

["Cooperation Between Romanian Social Democratic Party and Social Democratic Party of Moldavia"]

[Text] Official meetings took place in Kishinev between the representatives of the steering committee of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, led by General Secretary Mr. Mircea Stanescu, and those of the directorate of the Social Democratic Party of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

The sides briefed each other about the development of the sociopolitical situation in Romania and the Moldavian SSR, respectively. A protocol of intent was concluded which stipulates the priority directions of cooperation between the two parties. This protocol foresees, among other things, exchanges of official delegations, of documents, publications, and literature, and the organization of joint conferences, symposiums, other events, and the publication—under the aegis of both parties—of an annual publication, and the creation of a standing

commission for coordinating the activity of the two parties, MOLDOVA-PRESS reports.

Further on Balkan Intergovernmental Meeting

Proceedings Conclude in Bucharest

AU1409171190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1526 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Diplomatic Diary: Balkan Meeting Ending"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The proceedings of the meeting of Foreign Ministry senior officials of the Balkan countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Romania—ended on September 14 morning in Bucharest. During the final session, when the final document had been adopted, the heads of delegations from the attending countries underlined the constructive climate of the present meeting and thanked Romania and Romanian organizers for their hospitality and for the excellent conditions in which the debates had been unfolded.

Mr. Romulus Neagu, state secretary at the Romanian Foreign Ministry and member of the Romanian Government, president of the inter-Balkan meeting of Bucharest, concluded the proceedings by thanking in his turn all the delegations present for the contribution of each country to adopting a complete final document of the Bucharest meeting which is likely to enhance the chances of success for the next inter-Balkan conference of the foreign ministers in Tirana.

State Secretary Neagu on Meeting

AU1409211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Diplomatic Agenda: Romulus Neagu on the Balkan Meeting of High Foreign Ministries Officials"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The Bucharest event stands out as unique among the Balkan meetings: It was held at a time when profound changes are taking place on all planes in Central and East European countries, said State Secretary Romulus Neagu, a cabinet member and head of the Romanian delegation to the Balkan meeting of high foreign ministries officials in Bucharest. This homogenization of thoughts, efforts and ideals in the Balkans, he went on, showed to the full in the debates where only complementarities were recorded. The meeting which adopted by consensus a substantive document that also comprises the five Romanian proposals has been a success, he said.

It is particularly important that the meeting showed a different dimension of Balkan cooperation, the potential for promotion of Balkan concerns toward full integration in the all European economic and social development process, and even for approach to security questions, more specifically to the implementation of the confidence-building and stability measures in the Balkans, the Romanian chief delegate said and added: The possibility for this group of countries to operate with others from other parts of Europe in an effort for all-European integration was discussed.

The singular European moment I referred to before comprises another highly significant element, namely that countries in the two military blocs have agreed that they no longer are enemies. This agreement which will sanctioned officially already exists in life and has fully shown at this meeting where all participants were friends, they did not think of themselves as members of opposite blocs.

Participants Praise Romanian Ideas

AU1509184790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1417 GMT 15 Sep 90

["Statements by Participants in the Balkan Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/9/1990—"Romania's proposal for the organization of the Forum of Security and Collaboration in the Balkans is an important proposal and we analyze it from the angle which we tried to express in our statement at the current meeting, meaning that it is the time that the Balkan countries viewed our process of cooperation not dissociated, not as extension of Europe but as a close link of the European process of cooperation and security in all domains of activity, stated to a ROMPRES reporter by Mr. Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania.

We do not regard this meeting as something isolated, but as part of the Helsinki process that opens multiple prospects not only as regards the Balkan countries but also the collaboration and participation of other states as well and even of international organizations, said Foreign Minister Stefan Staykov, Bulgarian chief delegate. The Romanian proposal regarding the Forum of Security and Collaboration in the Balkans, is a meaningful idea in line with the ideas expressed also by other Balkan countries, the main purpose of which is to build an atmosphere of confidence, understanding, of perpetuating what is good here, in the Balkans. We will give this idea due attention. Anyway, it is a contribution to the seeking out of greater stability in conditions of good neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans.

We are all satisfied with the results of the Bucharest meeting, first because we have had an opportunity to express the common— targets, said Huseyin Celem, undersecretary of state with the Foreign Ministry, Turkish chief delegate. We are happy to see that there has been perfect community of ideas among the participant countries. Also, I must say we all have started to realize that we are on the same boat and that, in fact, we work toward the same targets, meaning prosperity, stability and development of our nations. Also, we have concluded that our future achievements in economy and

social development, in the process of multilateral cooperation will greatly contribute to consolidating peace, security and stability in the Balkans. I think the Bucharest meeting has been the most important before the ministerial meeting in Tirana. I think the Romanian proposal regarding the organization of a Forum of Security and Collaboration in the Balkans is interesting and we should give it due consideration, for it is an important proposal.

We are very pleased with the results of the meeting held in Bucharest, the capital of the country with which Yugoslavia has traditional relations of friendship, said Dushan Rodic, deputy minister of foreign affairs, chief of the Yugoslav delegation. It is very important that the participants highlighted the significance of the Belgrade conference held in 1988 and of the principles endorsed there for the development of the multilateral Balkan cooperation which should not lag behind the general processes of cooperation in Europe. In this connection, the Yugoslav party proposed that at the ministerial meeting in Tirana due on October 24-25, a message be addressed to the Paris CSCE summit. This initiative too, was backed. We appreciate Romania's proposals. They are very interesting ideas that will be extended in the period ahead in view of their implementation. I would also like to state my satisfaction with the recent official visit of friendship paid to Yugoslavia by President Ion Iliescu, when I got to know Romania's ideas and proposals for the development and actuation of the Balkan collaboration. I can tell you the Yugoslav leadership received with great attention the proposals advanced and will do its utmost for the development and extension, by collaboration with Romania, of these ideas and their implementation in the present real conditions.

The prospects of Balkan collaboration are very good and the change in the political climate in some Balkan countries, like Romania, contributes to the new framework of development of this collaboration, said Periclis Tsamulis [spelling as received], minister plenipotentiary, chief of the Greek delegation. The Balkans are a very sensible region and its future is very promising. In the economic domain, my country is ready to play host to a meeting of representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Balkan countries to discuss the promotion of their cooperation, including the idea of setting up the Balkan Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Within the CSCE process, Greece is constantly interested in the observance of the principles of good neighbourliness in the Balkans and thinks that the domains of mutual interest should be extended.

Bucharest Inter-Balkan Meeting Viewed

AU1409171490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1542 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Diplomatic Activities: Promotion of Inter-Balkan Cooperation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The report on the meeting of high officials in the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries, which was held in Bucharest, shows that the various activities and initiatives taken within the framework of many-sided inter-Balkan cooperation since the previous meeting in Athens were surveyed and an analysis was made of new ideas on their promotion in the future.

The high officials reiterated the Balkan countries' wish to further promote inter-Balkan cooperation and consolidate the achievements scored in various areas, to expand and strengthen many sided cooperation as well as political dialogue intended to contribute to fine understanding and good neighborliness for the benefit of the peoples in the area. They expressed their determination to intensify efforts to build up confidence and strengthen security and stability in the Balkans.

It was shown that against the background of the deep-going changes in Europe, in the Balkan countries in the first place, and in consideration of the substantial efforts made since the foreign ministers' Belgrade meeting it was both necessary and possible that the ministerial meeting in Tirana, due late in October, give strong impact to Balkan cooperation in all areas. The belief was expressed that owing to its results that meeting would mean a step forward towards expanded cooperation, greater mutual confidence and understanding, in the interest of all the countries in the region, of peace and security in the Balkans and all over Europe. The participants noted with satisfaction that the Bucharest meeting of high officials in the foreign ministries had proceeded in a constructive spirit of cooperation and understanding.

The next meeting of the representatives of the Balkan countries' foreign ministries will be held in Ankara, early in 1991.

Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Visits

Neagu Receives Kapplani

AU1509154190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—Talks were held in Bucharest between Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Muhamet Kapplani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who analysed the Romanian-Albanian relations and exchanged opinions on international questions of common interest.

Nastase Confers With Kapplani

AU1509190490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1440 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/9/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase had an interview with Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, now visiting Bucharest.

They exchanged views on the prospects of the Romanian-Albanian relations, the development of the inter-Balkan collaboration as part of the CSCE process and some international issues of mutual interest.

Netherlands Agricultural Delegation Offers Credits

AU1409171690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1547 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—A delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Environment of the Netherlands, together with a group of experts representing 30 companies in that country visited Romania over September 10-14.

A programme of cooperation in scientific research and production modernization by equipping Romanian farming units was agreed upon together with a team of Romanian experts.

At the same time, it was agreed that the Dutch side should open credit lines worth roughly 150 million dollars for cooperation in production, investment and the creation of joint companies, with a view to obtaining higher productive and economic efficiency, to the mutual advantage.

Romanian, Bulgarian Environmental Delegates Meet

AU1409150790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1323 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—Another Romanian-Bulgarian meeting on environment took place in Giurgiu on September 13 afternoon. The delegations were headed by Svetoslav Genchev and Georgi Bichev, deputy ministers of industry and technology, and Valentin Ionita and Angheluta Vadineanu, state secretaries, heads of the departments of chemical and petrochemical industry and, respectively, of environment of Romania.

In accordance with the protocol signed on July 4, by the prime ministers of Romania and Bulgaria, Petre Roman and Andrey Lukanov, a joint expert commission had studied over July 16 August 15 environment problems in the Ruse-Giurgiu area caused by industrial plants there. On July 23 to 25, another commission of specialists studied aspects of operation safety of the nuclear power plant of Kozloduy and whether it was advisable on the Bulgarian part to build up more nuclear reactors with higher capacity on the same site and to erect a nuclear power station in the Belene area.

The conclusions of the commissions were recorded in a protocol signed on August 15 in Giurgiu and Ruse and in an aide-memoire signed at Kozloduy. Since both documents contain diverging opinions on the problems under study, it was agreed, according to item 8 of the protocol signed by the prime ministers of the two countries, to draw up a joint report and apply for international survey of all aspects relating to environment protection in the area round the towns of Giurgiu, Ruse and Kozloduy.

Two preliminary meetings of the heads of the two delegations took place on August 30 and September 9, followed by the recent one in Giurgiu, in order to agree on the contents of the joint report.

Iliescu Meets Ecologist Movement Representatives

AU1309185790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/9/1990—As part of the dialogue initiated by Romania's president with the country's political forces, Ion Iliescu met on Friday with the delegation of the Ecological Movement led by Toma George Maiorescu, that party's president. On the occasion emphasis was placed on the necessity that all parties cooperate for solving the current questions concerning the democratization process and the social-economic renewal in our country. Reference was made to the contribution all the forces in our society could make to solving those questions, to improving Romania's image in the world. In that context special attention was paid to the measures adopted for the observance of the national minorities' rights, as well as to the parliamentary activity, especially to the parliamentary commission for inquiring into the June 13-15 events.

Specific concerns of the Romanian Ecological Movement were presented regarding the solutions to the dramatic pollution problems in our country as well as aspects connected with the forthcoming inauguration of the ecological university.

Roman Receives New Ambassadors of Egypt, Poland

AU1409171290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1545 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—On Friday, Romanian Premier Petre Roman received the new ambassadors of Egypt, Ihab Wahba, and Poland, Sigmund Komorowski, on credentials presentation calls.

The two ambassadors expressed their wish to contribute to closer relations between their countries and Romania.

Prime Minister Roman highlighted the fine links between Romania and the two countries and expressed his hope they would improve in the new conditions of democracy in Romania.

Constanta Port Workers To Strike 17 Sep

AU1409211390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1902 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Social Life: Will the Workers of Constanta Port Call a Strike?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The leadership of the Trade Union Organization in the Constanta Port and the Sailors' Free Trade Union Organization (not joined by the Trade Union Organization of the

merchant fleet officers) informed that, starting September 17, 8.00 hours [0500 GMT], the workers in the Constanta Port will call an unlimited strike until their claims are accepted.

The Trade Union Organization claims, in essence, that the units in the Constanta Port be organized as commercial societies, that a thirty-percent share of the profits in hard currency be added to the pay of those contributing to the obtainment of that hard currency, that the sides administration and Trade Union Organization agree upon their pay both in lei and in hard currency, as well as that an end be put to the production personnel layoffs.

In an open letter to the Parliament, the Union of the Trade Union Organizations in the Constanta Port considers the situation as explosive as a result of growing social-professional tensions, of the workers' great dissatisfactions caused by the breach of the labor contracts by units.

Many of the difficulties—the letter reads—can be avoided by transforming the fleet into commercial societies in keeping with the law, but that process is blocked by the leadership and other factors. Taking into consideration the danger of a large number of unemployed workers in the Constanta Port—following the disastrous way in which the units are run—dissatisfactions reached a climax and the strike is practically imminent.

In a communique released on Friday, the Administrative Councils of the three sea shipping companies—Navrom, Romline and Petronim—after showing the numerous claims made this year considers as unjustified this strike which will have paralising effects both on the merchant fleet and on the country's entire economy.

Over 80,000 Go On Strike

AU1709102490 Paris AFP in English 1007 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, Sept 17 (AFP)—Some 25,000 workers at the Black Sea port of Constanta and some 60,000 Romanian lorry drivers went on strike Monday to demand higher wages and better working conditions, union sources said. The sources who were contacted by telephone blamed management primarily with failing to grant pay bonuses for difficult work and to improve job safety standards, in line with a new law approved in late July.

The unions are part of the Fratia trade union confederation which counts 700,000 members. Their spokesmen urged sanctions against administrative officials who they charged with "compromising government programs", saying they should resign.

The drivers' union said the strike did not apply to drivers of public transport, ambulances and security or supply vehicles.

The strike call last week had been denounced by port officials in Constanta, who said the Romanian maritime companies, Navrom, Petromin and Romline, had already suffered a deficit of more than a billion lei (50 million dollars) so far this year. They blamed the loss on the country's previous political system and a drop in exports and productivity.

Employees of 'Only' Nine Enterprises Strike

AU1409190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Strikes Only a Few Hours Long"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—It is only in nine of the 25 enterprises listed by Nicolae Preda, leader of the "Brotherhood" Union federation that employees went on strikes that lasted a few hours on September 13 a Mechanical Engineering Department spokesman announced.

The managerial board of the "Tractorul" enterprise was replaced. The union representatives said they would support the new managerial board in putting its planned program into force. "Tractorul" resumed its normal work program.

'Infratirea' TU Temporarily Cancels Strikes

AU1509154090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The Inner Council of the "Infratirea" Union Federation, gathered in Brasov on Friday, released a communique announcing its decision to cancel the strikes temporarily and wait for the new legal framework to be set up as soon as possible, so that the new economic structures that will appear in a market economy will be able to function properly.

The council appreciates as positive the government's intention to take an active part in the regulation of technical and material supply from both home and foreign sources.

Mentioning that a number of problems in the August 22, 1990 protocol were left unsolved, the "Infratirea" federation asks for a constructive dialogue to be continued with the governmental commission.

The commuique also points out that "Infratirea" Federation renews its support of the government programme and hopes the transition peciod will be as short as possible.

Government Communique on Talks With Trade Unions

AU1409190790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 14 Sep 90

["Social Life: Government Commission's Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The Government Commission set up following Prime Minister Petre

Roman talks with Brasov union leaders issued a communique stating that the mechanical engineering department helped in the raw materials and sub-assemblies and will continue to selectively support the process throughout September. The communique points out that in the 4th quarter of 1990 and over 1991 the government will coordinate a limited number of balances enabling the rational use of internal and imported resources.

Such a way of solving the problems facing enterprises future commercial societies should not be something usual, as it is against the spirit specific to the market economy. The issues related to the material supplies and the relations among manufacturing enterprises will be solved in future on the basis of contracts, by administrative boards and enterprises' experts the communique reads.

As for the unions' claims concerning salaries, extras and other rights, a global solution should be given at the level of national economy, by a new labour legislation . The first set of laws is ready for being advanced to the parliament this month.

The communique concludes that in the dialogue with representatives of the employees the government commits itself to seek constructive, realistic solutions and resist the pressures that tend to draw us back to the communist system in which enterprises were directly run by the state which shared out resources, censuring initiative and the liberty of decision.

Public Service TU Federation Established

AU1409151090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1329 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The Federation of the Free and Independent Trade Unions [TU] of the City Management, House Administration, Public Works and Services of Romania has been founded, with headquarters in Bucharest. The first all-country conference of the union will be held on September 20.

* Union Daily Aims To Be 'Civic Conscience'

90P20117A Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 21 Aug 90 p 1

[Editorial: "In the Middle of Things"]

[Text] These words seem to say so little but they mean so much! We have chosen them for the title of the editorial in the first issue of our new daily newspaper REALITATEA ROMANEASCA because they define our honest concern and the programmatic efforts to place ourselves entirely in the service of reality. How? By recovering the essence and the deep meanings of the words. By a definitive return to simplicity and frankness. By the establishment of a dialog of truth and good sense. By ridding the printed word of slogans and banalities. By a definite break with "wooden language" and with the propaganda of the years of sad memory.

We desire that "nothing which is human be foreign to us" and, especially, in our pages, we want to make room each day for the everyday problems in the life of the ordinary man, the uneducated man, who is making a great contribution to building that "good" toward which the eyes and the prayers of the Romanian people have been directed for centuries. We hope to share, as much as possible, in the great and small sufferings of our readers, to provide them with prompt and extensive information from all fields of life, political, economic, social, cultural-artistic, and sports reporting, and to fight, along with them, to put an end to all the deficiencies, abuses, and inequities, all the improprieties and impurities of our young democracy, so that they will present their best thoughts and put forth their best efforts. From Tuesday to Sunday, page by page, article by article, REALITATEA ROMANEASCA proposes to be identified by a deep "mirroring" of everyday life, by the defining of the harsh elements of this life, by a noble offensive against false elements of any nature and against reservations in regard to new elements in the economy, science and education, art and culture, in the activity of the trade unions, in trade union leagues, associations, federations and confederations, in the area of sports and recreation activities.

First of all, in the paper and, later, in its weekend supplement, published under the auspices of the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania, priority will be given to the pressing problems of the socioeconomic protection of the people, new information and the frank opinion of the reader, news from the fields of science, culture and art, the dynamics of international political life, and sports events.

With inflexible respect for individuals and for the profession which it represents, and for the good, the true and the beautiful, REALITATEA ROMANEASCA is no other than your new knowledge and an authentic "civic conscience," which not promises but actions will legitimize and bring close to the spirit of the readers. Therefore, starting today, there is no longer any place for promises. Our daily has become real. It lives and belongs to you.

TV Trade Union Protests Management Interference

AU1409110090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0913 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The Free Union of the Romanian Radio Television Workers protests against the rude interference with its internal affairs by the administrative management through Director-General Emanuel Valeriu, reports daily ROMANIA LIBERA. In the absence of the TU [Trade Union] chairman, the protest note shows, he "took the liberty, by abusing his function, to change the composition of the TU delegation established by the Executive Bureau, that had to attend the meeting with representatives of kindred trade unions of Europe.

"Considering this very aggressive action against the Free Union of the Romanian Radio Television workers, an

action that dangerously undermines the process of democratization in our country and its prestige in the world, the Free Union of the Romanian Radio Television Workers demands that the government should immediately dismiss Mr. Emanuel Valeriu from office and also demands the cessation of all pressures put up on the union both from within and without the institution" reads the protest note signed by the union's executive office.

Iliescu Gives Television Interview on 14 Sep

AU1509182590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by unidentified Romanian Television reporter on 14 September: "Dialogue With Romania's President"—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Esteemed Mr. President, here you are at a new television meeting with the country, a meeting which tries to respond in an equal way to the wish expressed by you and to our fellow citizens' interest in the activity of the country's president.

We are talking, therefore, about a dialogue; you, from the very beginning of this historical period, spoke out for this democratic form—that is, for dialogue. We still have alive in our memory the images of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], which can be called a first school of dialogue—a school which certainly developed into new forms, into new conditions, within the context of the Parliament. Even the microphone is now protected because it is regulated by the little bell which chimes on Mr. Barladeanu's desk. Thus, talking about this dialogue, how do you view it now? Is it an effective form aimed at clarifying problems which emerge from current Romanian society?

[Iliescu] The dialogue, as you had mentioned, is an essential part of the democratic process. It is essential to maintain a permanent dialogue between the bodies in power and the people on all levels and between all the sectors of our society. This is a school of dialogue, a school of patience to listen to other opinions. We can see how difficult this is. You have mentioned the period of the PNUC's activity. You have just marked two distinctive stages in our social development since the December revolution. First there was the preelectoral period, which lasted approximately until the middle of June, a period which was dominated by electoral competition, something that was also reflected in the climate that prevailed within the PNUC and in the way in which it carried out its activity. The PNUC, apart from negative aspects, also presented its spectacular face—reflected in the great interest with which the PNUC discussions were followed by people—particularly through the violent note in the language used within this provisional body. This, however, was a useful school of confrontation even on certain issues about which the differences of opinion were very acute. Certainly, at that time, there was not enough patience to listen to the opinions of the opponents and each person wanted to forcefully affirm his own opinion. This gave a somewhat more tense note to the atmosphere. It contributed, however, to the positive account of the PNUC activity when certain legislation was adopted—particularly the electoral law, which was the base for organizing the May election. In spite of the acute atmosphere in which this law was discussed, it received the consent of almost all participants in the discussions. This was a school of participation, and of being ready to accept confrontation and dialogue even in crucial moments.

From this point of view, we entered a new stage—as I was telling you, mostly after the first part of June—when the parliamentary activity began its rightful course and within which I could say that constructive activity is carried out. I am referring mainly to the parliamentary discussions, between parliamentarians on the one hand and between parliamentarians and government on the other hand. From the information I have received about this activity, people appreciate the constructive nature in which this dialogue, this confrontation of ideas, is carried out in connection with certain legislation which is being discussed. I would also like to mention as a positive moment the solemn session devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Vienna award, an important political manifestation which emphasized the possibility of consensus for all parliamentarians who unanimously adopted an important political declaration. This is a good example of the positive steps that have been made by this country.

[Reporter] In my view, and maybe according to your views, too, the intense dialogue between legal personnel is a specific element of what we call democracy—unfortunately without always knowing its meaning. I would like you to express your point of view—theoretically, and, if you are ready to do so, compare it with the state of democracy in Romania today.

[Iliescu] This is exactly what I have already said, that we should encourage this capacity to register and accept opinions other than our own. As a matter of fact, society consists of a number of individuals who have their own characteristics. I am not only talking about differences of opinions in general, but differences in individual opinions. To encourage tolerance and to have respect for other opinions and other interests are part and parcel of democracy. More than that, in structuring the political democracy in our society, we should observe the rules of the components and the characteristics of political democracy.

On the one hand, democracy means primarily the power of the majority, respect for the right of majority to make decisions, and respect for the decisions of the majority and for the institutions of this majority. Democracy also means ensuring full rights for the existence, manifestation, and expression of minorities—whether we speak about political, (?religious), national, or [word indistinct] minorities. All this together gives a special character to the climate that is necessary to ensure a free existence for all individuals in a democratic society, to make the

society more colorful, to give everyone the chance to participate, and to provide the opportunity to use our society's full creative potential.

From this point of view, I believe that we are in the process of building this establishment—the Romanian democracy—and this, as I have already said, all of us have to learn. We have to learn at the level of state institutions—the parliamentary institution, which is a school for democracy, but mainly on a larger plane, at the level of the whole society, within all groups. A permanent dialogue at all levels between decisionmakers and the beneficiaries, as well as with all the participants in the processes of the social life, is required.

[Reporter] Certainly, the presidential institution represents a first for public life in Romania. That is why, allow me to ask, after the adoption of the Constitution—which is expected by the whole nation—to what extent and in what way do you believe that you should fulfill your duties in a very important sector, the economic sector? Certainly, I hope you do not want to give detailed explanations and you want to project global views.

[Iliescu] Before starting to speak about the issues of embarking on this sector of social life, I would like to continue speaking about the previous ideas, about the role and functions of the presidential institution in the democratic process in our country and about the political dialogue which the president himself and the presidential institution wish to promote on the political plane and [word indistinct] factor in our society.

As a matter of fact, by setting up our state institutions, we created two institutions which are the direct emanation of the electorate, of the citizens' options: the Parliament and the presidential institution. As a result of the elections, the Parliament has a diversified political, multiparty structure, which expresses the opinions of the electorate. The presidential institution has somehow a unique position in the system of our state institutions. The president, having been elected by a majority of the electorate, has become the representative institution of all citizens and of the whole Romanian society; thus, he must be the connecting factor for all political and social factors in our society. This is the function that the country's president and the presidential institution has to fulfill. One way to do this is by initiating contacts, dialogue, and an exchange of opinions with representatives of certain political forces—primarily the parties which are represented in the parliament—and with the representatives of other forces, of other organizations, civic organizations, organizations belonging to national minorities, religious organizations, youth, women, and trade union organizations and various social categories. I believe that to carry out such multiple contacts and to integrate himself in this process of easing some sources of tension in our society and to promote dialogue with all factors of our society is the duty of a president. We would like to continue along this line.

You have mentioned these issues within the context of the flow of economic life. No doubt in the current stage, we can consider economic problems as the major source of our difficulties. The problems of transition to a market economy are very complex, apart form the difficulties which we have inherited in the field of the structure of our economy, the way in which it was administered, the processes in the people's life and in social life. The transition itself is a process which generates problems and difficulties and is a source of dissatisfaction and tension.

Within this context an active dialogue is required on all levels—the central or local level—between decisionmakers and those whose who carry out the activity, between the state bodies, the state apparatus—which regulates the economic problems and is in charge of promoting economic reforms—and the legislative organs, the Parliament, the executive bodies, the government, the economic agents in enterprises, and the collectives of producers.

We intend to build this new economic structure and promote the fundamental and objective elements of an economy based on healthy principles, the principles of market economy which govern the contemporary economic life.

We take into consideration both the positive and negative consequences of such an economy, which tends to deepen discrepancies in contemporary society. In other words, the generally accepted idea that a rich society presupposes the existence of rich people only applies in a social context, because there are societies with very rich people where the bulk of the population is very poor. As a rule, the poorest societies display a strident opulence against a background of equally strident mass poverty. As a matter of fact, postwar Romania has experienced [words indistinct]. On the other hand, trends toward egalitarianism have also proved a failure. The idea of social equity, therefore, must be integrated in the process of economic development based on efficiency. This is a feature of the market economy which stimulates values, the spirit of initiative, the creative capacity, and high quality and highly efficient work. Of course, all this should be combined with society's concern with diminishing social discrepancies. As a matter of fact, this is how I presented myself at the elections, namely with an economic program with social connotations, which also implies care in structuring the economy and drafting legislative documents.

I would like to add something. Aside from the difficulties already encountered, new ones are emerging in connection with the following: the deterioration of the climate of work; the deterioration of social discipline and the ethics of work; various negative phenomena such as the stealing of goods and products from enterprises or the distribution network; and failure by producing units to observe contract provisions, something which generates and exacerbates the difficulties faced by economic

units—an ongoing process which has led to the disputes at the Tractorul enterprise [in Brasov] and other units around the country.

These negative phenomena demand that special attention be paid to working out appropriate legislation, which can facilitate the reintroduction of a rigorous discipline of work and production, and can ensure the quality of production and so forth, without which we will not be able to be productive or promote economic interests. There are phenomena of corruption at the level of enterprises and in the state apparatus, where enterprise directors are getting involved in all kinds of private business and state clerks are violating the norms of professional ethics, when they are called to protect public interests. The new legislation should stipulate very severe measures against clerks in the state or economic apparatus who become involved in private business.

Other civilized states also have rigorous laws, and the problems which cause the deterioration of the social climate are at the center of the concerns of the government, which took very serious steps to combat such distortions in our social life. Likewise, from the entire economic legislative, we [words indistinct] a basic element of the internal life, the importance of the intellectual creation, of the technical creativity, and of the innovating spirit. From this viewpoint, [words indistinct] we have to call on the creative capacity and the (?support) of our population and of the workers in all sectors of activity, including the technical intelligentsia, workers, and [words indistinct], by ensuring the appropriate number of personnel and their appropriate remuneration for this creative effort, which should stimulate our overall economic development.

These, therefore, are major problems of the general strategy of our economic development in the framework of contemporary world development requirements in the technological and economic sphere, combined with care for the social effects of development, in order to ensure that all citizens benefit from the improvements promised by the development of economic power. If we try to produce values, without work, without a spirit of responsibility, and without competence and appropriate skills, we are doomed to failure. It is one of the duties of the executive power, the government, to perseveringly and resolutely continue the renewal of the (?economic) and state apparatus and to promote valuable and competent people, on the basis of the objective criteria of the people's qualities, honesty, and correctness.

[Reporter] Mr. President, before moving on to another subject, let us deal with another domestic issue. A communique of the enquiry commission investigating the 13-15 June events was released last night. Would you like to tell us your opinion about this communique and the commission's activity.

[Iliescu] I consider this issue quite important. As I said, there are major changes, but the political stability of our society is rather fragile, with many sources of tension, suspicion, distrust, and instability. The 13-15 June events have become the source of controversies and actions that damage our national interests at home and abroad.

Of course, an analysis of these events cannot overlook the weaknesses and mistakes of the government and the bodis of public order during the events. These weaknesses did not appear then for the first time. They had been apparent on other occasions, too—that is, at other tense moments in our political life after the December revolution, which are a reflection of the moral crisis experienced by Romanian society.

Without understanding the psychological realities of the Romanian society in which the entire process of change has taken place since the December revolution, one can hardly understand the complex nature of this process and the difficulties faced by our country or objectively examine the facts, conflicts, and the behavior of people and state institutions.

From this viewpoint, aside from the activity carried out by the bodies of the Ministry of Interior, police, and the Prosecutor's Office to investigate the penal violations committed during these events, the serious political activity of the parliamentary commission is also important. The report presented yesterday in Parliament and released to the public reflects the seriousness with which this representative commission—which includes members of all political factions in Parliament—is tackling this mission, the great volume of work it has done, and the complexity of the task, as the commission has not yet been able to present a conclusive report.

At the presidency we received many requests to exert pressure on this commission so that it will speed up its inquiry, present its conclusions as soon as possible, uncover the truth, and so forth. As could be seen from the report advanced by that commission, however, the commission members hesitated to reach any conclusions, saying that they can still come up with no final conclusions and asked Parliament to extend the mandate of the inquiry commission.

I believe we should put our trust in this commission and ensure the proper climate for this inquiry to proceed under normal conditions, with the provision that the commission should make a greater effort to present its conclusions as soon as possible. The important thing is to ensure the necessary atmosphere at home, so that we can draw appropriate conclusions and take the necessary steps to avoid similar moments and manifestations of conflict.

There is no doubt that differences of opinion, options, and political stands on various phenomena will not disappear from our country. Controversies and conflicts over the further promotion of the process of socioeconomic change in our society will still exist. It is, however, important to find the necessary strength to ensure that all these problems, conflicts, and contradictions in our

society find their natural solution, within the legal framework of our political and social life. Through peaceful political dialogue, we should solve all conflicts, demands, and claims of various categories of citizens, thus ensuring the necessary climate for the constructive activity in which all our society's forces should participate.

Everybody should contribute to this: the political forces, the organized political forces, that is the parties represented in Parliament or outside it, the other organized forces representing various sectors of our society, and, last but not least, the mass information media. Unfortunately—here I would like to make a little reproaching remark—we are still witnessing the unleashing of various passions and aversions and the use of violent, hurtful, and uncivilized language. I believe one should not confuse social criticism in the press or through other means—a necessary part and parcel of democracy—with slander, distortions, omissions, tendentious interpretations, and misrepresentations that sometimes acquire grotesque dimensions.

I believe that the existence of this sensationalist and scandalous press is a negative phenomenon; the presence of this press has become more like a caricature and aberrant presence in our social climate and is a permanent source of tension and instability. At the same time we have received a great deal of criticism in connection with the unsatisfactory information given to the public. In spite of the increase in the number of publications and the diversification of the daily and weekly publications, public information continues to lag, because the papers are concerned with totally different issues.

On the other hand, another criticism leveled at our press—in this respect, at the presidency we received many messages and indications from the public—is that this amounts to a new kind of exclusivism and intolerance in journalistic activity, a sort of monopoly on the information and press media at the political, cultural, and literary level, while important forces of our intelligentsia are excluded from public discussion and life. I believe that appropriate measures should be taken to eliminate such negative phenomena from our life, which influence all aspects of our life.

I believe that all viewpoints, options, orientations, and creative forces should find their outlet for expression and assertion in the current conditions of the Romanian democratic development. This is the true meaning of democracy, because the replacement of one kind exclusivism with another, and the replacement of one kind of intolerance with an opposite is not democracy. If we are to promote intolerance in our public life, the main intolerance should be directed against intolerance itself, exclusivism, violent language, and vulgarities.

[Reporter] Mr. President, you referred in detail to certain aspects of the press and also made some (?criticism) of it. Since we are dealing with this topic, I would like to bring up an older promise you made about periodic meetings you were going to have with the press. When can we expect a first such meeting?

[Iliescu] A first meeting already took place when I presented the presidential institution and the composition of the chancellory. I have, however, taken note of this initiative and [words indistinct] we plan to establish an organized framework for such meetings at least once a month. I hope you will have other opportunities [words indistinct].

[Reporter] I would like to proceed to the last chapter of our dialogue—namely, foreign policy. Domestic policy, of course, is the pillar of all policies. One, however, cannot overlook the very sensitive field of international relations—a sector where you, more than anyone else in this country, in your capacity as president are most involved, with the difficult mission of representing us all before the world. I would like to suggest that you elaborate on the initiative regarding the development of cooperation among the Balkan countries, something we learned about during your visit to Yugoslavia, because people might think that it does not bring anything new to the known statements dating back to the fifties.

[Iliescu] You are right. As I said in Parliament at the time of my investiture and on other occasions, too, foreign policy is a major component of our state activity. I proclaimed Romania's broad opening to the world, which represents a radical turning point in our foreign policy's orientation toward the development of cooperation with all states, primarily those in Europe. This confirms our entry into Europe—this is a metaphor, as we are obviously part of Europe. Likewise, we declared our country's broad opening toward all states in the world, on the basis of the democratic principles of relations among states, regardless of their size, orientation, and so forth.

It was not by accident that my first official state visit took me to Yugoslavia. At that time, I spoke about the significance of the choice made for this beginning, in view of the good relations existing between the two states. This (?explains the great interest) in this visit, which was characterized by a new and open spirit in which all discussions were conducted. As I said, an important problem tackled on that occasion was the problem of Balkan relations—particularly the initiation of certain steps to develop comprehensive cooperation among the Balkan countries—in the framework of the all-European process, by removing all obstacles to cooperation among all states on the continent, with a view of eliminating its separation into East and West.

These ideas were positively received by our Yugoslav partners and were met with a positive response by the other states in this area. These states expressed their views in various contacts and exchanges of messages at a high level with the Bulgarian leaders, with President Zhelev, with the Turkish president [words indistinct], and at the recent meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries. I believe there is a common

understanding of and interest in initiating a specific contribution of this region to the overall European process. Here are a few key ideas emphasized on this occasion: On the one hand, the desire of us all to eliminate elements of formalism and principled declarations; and the resumption of the good traditions dating back to the pre-war period and [words indistinct] lay the foundation of regional cooperation.

Likewise, everyone welcomes the idea of a forum of Balkan security and cooperation as a framework for expanding comprehensive cooperation in the economic, social, political, scientific, and cultural fields, at a governmental and nongovernmental level. Through multilateral dialogue, all are striving to implement these ideas. All states, therefore, are interested in this process on the basis of historical traditions, geographical closeness, and joint interest in developing bilateral and multilateral relations; a process which is also facilitated by the changes currently occurring in the economic, social, and political life of all Balkan states.

As I said before, these ideas and measures are conceived within the overall European framework of promoting close cooperation among all states. The characteristic feature of our area is the existence of a favorable terrain for experimenting and stimulating the all-European processes, because our geographical area contains states belonging to both East and West from a political and economic viewpoint, hence the processes occurring in our countries are significant for the processes occurring at the level of the continent.

At the same time, I would like to stress the importance of our region as a region of contact and connection with Europe, with Central Europe, and the Middle East. From this point of view, the positive processes and the development of ways to promote detente and cooperation among all countries in our region can make a positive contribution to the general process of detente throughout the world.

Our partners have appreciated the favorable position of Romania in supporting this process. Romania is a country which does not have conflicting problems with any of the Balkan countries and is an accepted partner by all Balkan countries. Thus our contribution is positively viewed.

Among new events, I would mention the forthcoming United Nations session and the UNICEF conference on issues about children initiated by certain heads of countries with participation at the highest level of heads of government, which will take place also in New York at the end of this month.

We have decided to participate in these two international events because we view them as a new and favorable occasion for broad contacts with a great number of countries in the world. We also view them as a favorable occasion for the clear affirmation and openness of Romania to the world and of our wish to integrate and actively participate in the processes of detente and many-sided cooperation with all the countries of the world. We will voice our desire to turn international bodies into active factors for promoting peace and international cooperation.

Romania's active position could be witnessed recently—in August—when Romania was carrying out the duties of the president of the UN Security Council at a time when this body was confronted with the most acute problems. One of the very serious moments was the Gulf conflict, and the role played by the Romanian representative, Ambassador Aurel Dragos-Munteanu, was unanimously appreciated by all participants in the meeting. Romania's decisive contribution in the accurate promotion of resolutions and in achieving an almost unanimous consensus in adopting all resolutions as a result of the active consultation with all members of the council was recognized.

In spite of the negative economic effects that the blockade against Iraq has imposed on Romania through the halting of oil deliveries—since Iraq and Kuwait were our major oil suppliers—which were meant as repayment of Iraq's important debts to us, as well as the interruption of economic cooperation on other planes, and which—as was already mentioned—amount to almost 3 billion dollars, Romania adopted a principled position and has consistently observed the resolutions of the Security Council.

In conclusion I would like to mention that this fall will be [word indistinct] from the point of view of our international contacts; visits arranged by mutual invitation will be carried out, in accordance with wishes expressed for high level contacts with certain neighboring countries in Europe and in the Far East. Our international contacts will also develop during an important event in the political life of our continent, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will take place at the end of November in Paris with the participation of European heads of state.

[Reporter] Mr. President, before expressing our thanks for this dialogue, I would like to renew our invitation and tell you that next month we expect you to have a new dialogue, through us, with the country.

[Iliescu] (?Thank you.)

Iliescu Receives Delegation of FSN Leadership

AU1409215990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1958 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—As part of the consultations with representatives of various political forces, Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president, met Friday afternoon with a delegation of the National Salvation Front (NSF) [FSN] leadership made up of Claudiu Iordache, first deputy chairman, Gheorghe Scortan, deputy chairman, Liviu Muresan, leader of the majority group in the Assembly of Deputies, and Vasile Vacaru, leader of the majority group in the Senate. Reference was made to that political formation's concerns regarding the

development of the democratic process in Romania, of the political, economic and social renewal process and, in that context, the stage of the Front's restructuring as a government party, the measures to be taken in preparation of the national convention due in December.

On the occasion, President Iliescu was informed about the initiatives of the NSF's parliamentary groups in the two chambers regarding the collaboration with the other political forces and the intention of joint actions abroad for the promotion of national interests.

Emphasis was placed on the necessity of observing and consolidating the country's democratic institutions resulting from the free elections. Stress was also laid on the importance of promoting a rigorous legal framework to fight against anti-social phenomena as well as on the increased involvement of the Front, of the other political forces in building a social climate good for reforms in all fields of activity.

PNL Executive Bureau, Parliamentary Groups Meet

AU1609203990 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 11 Sep 90 p 1

[National Liberal Party Press Bureau "Communique"]

[Text] The Executive Bureau of the National Liberal Party [PNL] held a meeting in Bucharest on 6 September 1990 which was also attended by the parliamentary groups representing us in the Senate and Deputies' Assembly. The subjects discussed were as follows: A study of the domestic political situation, the organization of the Liberal Forum in October, and the PNL's participation in international polics.

In connection with the domestic political situation, those who took the floor emphasized that we are still confronting tension generated by the profound economic crisis characterized by inefficiency, imbalance, and complete lack of commodities. The economic situation is so serious and affects the standard of living and quality of life to such an extent that the party leadership and parliamentary groups are compelled to immediately call on the government to specify the tangible measures it is promoting. At the same time, we will firmly request that the government keep the people constantly posted on the real status of our economy in order to eliminate the practice of covering up facts.

In connection with the Liberal Forum, scheduled to take place in October, the data necessary for regional meetings with the people in charge in all counties were established. The speakers dwelled on ensuring a maximum of professionalism in studying—based on liberal positions—of the main economic, legal, sociopolitical, and cultural proposals which will be made during the discussions to be conducted within plenary sessions and within sections.

In connection with international activity, the participants mainly discussed the position that Mr. Radu Campeanu is to take as guest of the European Parliament in Strasbourg while conferring with Western companies about the domestic political situation and about opportunities for economic and financial cooperation. Most speakers agreed that the current stage and limits of the democratization process, of freeing domestic political life, and of the real difficulties faced by the Romanian people in ensuring a living standard of minimum decency, be presented objectively and in a properly articulated way. The idea came up of requesting a broader Western economic and financial opening toward Romania. This viewpoint, obviously going beyond party interests, aims to give an impetus to private initiative and free enterprise as effective means of economic management and of guaranteeing a genuine democratization of political activity on the basis of observance of the basic rights of information, opinion, and conduct.

PNL Press Bureau

Former RCP Leaders' Trial Resumes on 17 Sep

AU1709124890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1145 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/9/1990—On Monday, September 17, the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal resumed the trial against defendants (held in investigative custody) Stefan Andrei, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Silviu Curticeanu, Gheorghe David, Constantin Dascalescu, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovik Fazekas, Suzanica Gidea, Mihai Gere, Ana Muresan, Paul Niculescu Mizil, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Dumitru Popescu, Constantin Radu, Ion Radu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ion Stoian, Iosif Sasz, Ioan Toma, Ioan Totu, all former full members or alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, charged with genocide under Nr.357, letters A and B, in the penal code.

Defendants Constantin Dascalescu, Mihai Gere, Gheorghe Oprea, Dumitru Popescu are also charged with breach of the fire-arms law.

In the first part of the session, after the roll call, the court discussed the applications of some of the defendants as concerns their health condition.

Participants in 13-15 June Events To Be Tried

AU1609172690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/9/1990—Under indictments of the Prosecutor General's Office—Department of Military Prosecutors' Offices—Nicolae Bugean, Vasilica Lixandru, Valentin Stoica and Stefan Molnar (under arrest) and Nicolae Tintea (in freedom) are to be brought to trial.

On 13 June 1990 and in the night of 13 to 14 June 1990, during the events in Bucharest, the defendants committed the following offences: unlawful penetration in the headquarters of a state body, theft from public property, failure to observe weapon and ammunition law, disturbance of public peace, threatening of Romanian officers.

The defendants are to be tried by the Bucharest Military Tribunal.

The inquiry continues to the end of identifying and holding responsible the other persons guilty of offences committed over 13-15 June 1990.

Former Security Chief Vlad's Trial Adjourned

AU1409150590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1334 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/9/1990—The trial of reserve General Vlad Iulian, former head of the State Security Department, who stands charges as accomplice in genocide, trial conducted before the Supreme Court of Justice— Military Department, was postponed on September 14 till October 15, after the court examined ten witnesses for the prosecution.

The Prosecutor's Office representative moved for postponement. At the end of the session, he said the evidences in the records were not enough to sustain the accusation as accomplice in genocide and, consequently, he demanded new evidences to be produced with papers and witnesses. The defendant's lawyer agreed with the prosecutor's motion and also demanded more evidences to be produced by papers and witnesses.

Examined during the session as witnesses were a number of former personalities of the old regime, as well as former Securitate officers, who were asked about the accusations in the bill of indictment regarding General Vlad's stand at the two meetings on December 17 and 22, 1989 of the RCP's [Romanian Communist Party's] Executive Political Committee, on Nicolae Ceausescu's order that the demonstrators in Timisoara, Bucharest and other Romanian cities be fired at, and about the defendant's action for the respective orders to be obeyed. Most of the witnesses did not refer to General Vlad as having been involved in inducing Ceausescu's decision to have the crowd fired at, nor did they sustain the other accusation, namely that he had relayed orders for the demonstrators' repression.

Gheorghe Oprea stressed that General Vlad had told Ceausescu he had not meant to carry through Ceausescu's previous orders for the repression of the demonstration in Timisoara because there had been no need. He confirmed that Ceausescu had threatened General Vlad he would be dismissed and shot, which had made General Vlad say "he would carry the order through." "Knowing Vlad as a well-balanced, moderate man" Oprea Gheorghe added, "I objected to his dismissal and thought his pledge before Ceausescu to be only formal. "Mihai Gere and Gheorghe Pana confirmed that nobody in the Executive Political Committee had had the courage to oppose to Ceausescu, to object to his decisions or change any of his initiatives."

The testimony of witness Tudor Postelnicu came up with elements of great surprise and interest, that made the president of the court and the prosecutor say they would have the Prosecutor's Office investigate his evidence. "I would like to refer to terrorists," Postelnicu said, touching one of the most talked of issues now of interest both to the judiciary and to public opinion. They were neither Securitate nor members of the Ministry of the Interior. All this accusation comes from one of the greatest post-revolutionary provocateurs, former Securitate Colonel Dumitru Mazilu, who, starting the night of December 22 incited a part of the revolutionaries to fire at Securitate officers and at military, claiming they were terrorists. Based on certain scenarios, he secretly invented culprits. He dismantled the Securitate and the Ministry of the Interior, allowing for foreign agentry to insinuate."

Postelnicu's declaration immediately generated speculations according to which Dumitru Mazilu was the person about whom General Vlad had said two days before that had received 1.5 million lei from a foreign embassy to work for the country's destabilization. Tudor Postelnicu then stressed that, together with General Vlad and General Milea, he had been accused by Ceausescu to have sent unarmed troops to Timisoara. "General Vlad's answer," the witness said, "aggravated Ceausescu." Postelnicu also said that although the three of them had pledged themselves to obey by the orders, "on a Securitate and Ministry of the Interior line, nothing was done by the defendant for the carrying through of the Executive Political Committee's decisions." He also denied the authenticity of the meeting shorthand record, saying that it skipped moments of the meeting, that some addresses were assigned to other speakers, some phrases were polished, that the absence at the meeting of certain members of the committee was not recorded. "I do not know of any instance of repression of the demonstrators by militia or Securitate bodies" Postelnicu said.

Nor were the testimonies of former generals Grigorie Ghita and Vasile Gheorghe of more help in sustaining the accusation. The two stressed they had not been given orders to repress the demonstrations in Timisoara and Bucharest. On the contrary, they maintained, General Vlad ordered that the population should not be fired at.

Massacre of Romanian, Jewish People Commemorated

AU1609174690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/9/1990—Today there is 46 years since the massacre of the Fascist-Horthy authorities against the Romanian and Jewish population of Sarmas Commune, Mures County. On the Sascut hill, in the vicinity of Sarmas Commune, 126 Jews and 29 Romanians were killed, many buried alive, in the night of 16 to 17 September 1944. In their memory the Union of Refugees from North-Western Transylvania Over 1940-1944, the Mures County branch of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union and the Orthodox Parish of Sarmas organized on 16 September a commemorative meeting when moments of the Transylvanian tragedy of 1940-1944 were recalled. Floral wreaths were laid at the monument of the martyrs. Present were numerous citizens of the commune and the neighbouring villages, representatives of the Jewish community of Romania.

Dissolved Kosovo Assembly Delegates Arrested

LD1409145290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The District Public Prosecutor's Office in Pristina today instructed competent internal affairs bodies to carry out appropriate legal measures in connection with the illegal session of delegates of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly, held in Kacanik, at which, according to available data, unconstitutional acts were committed. Criminal charges under Article 116 of the Penal Code could be brought against the perpetrators of these acts, which are aimed at endangering the territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

Acting in line with the Prosecutor's Office demand, the internal affairs bodies have already arrested, questioned, and detained a number of former delegates of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly. They are continuing to arrest and question the remaining participants of the illegal meeting. They are also collecting relevant evidence so that criminal charges can be brought against them.

Democratic Alliance Issues Protest

LD1509171190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] today sent a letter to the Assembly and Presidency of Yugoslavia and to the Federal Executive Committee president in which a sharp protest is made against the decision of the Public Prosecutors' Office in Pristina to bring criminal charges against Albanian delegates of the disbanded Kosovo Assembly who adopted a constitution for the republic of Kosovo.

In the letter which is signed by Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the DSK, the demand is made that "the detained delegates be released immediately and that any further proceedings against other delegates and their families be suspended."

The DSK says that it considers "the negation of the immunity of delegates of the Kosovo Assembly which is guaranteed by the Constitution and laws," to be untenable.

The letter also claims that "there is no basis in a single Yugoslav law" for the decision of the Pristina Public Prosecutor's Office. Serbia is accused of trying to treat as a crime any manifestation of the separate identity of Kosovo and the separate interests of the Albanian people.

Rugova Supports Constitution

LD1409134390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance (DSK), gave his support today at a press conference for the "constitution of the Kosovo republic," and the accompanying documents adopted by "delegates of the Kosovo Assembly." These are the documents which 111 Albanians—delegates of the Kosovo Assembly before its suspension in June—adopted at an illegal meeting a week ago.

For Rugova, the Kosovo Assembly is legitimate. Decisions were passed in a legal way and not forced, and therefore, in his words, there is nothing wrong about this. Recalling that this is the time of making constitutions [as received] he stressed that Albanians have the right to vote and make their own choice. Rugova noted however, that the assembly is not capable of implementing the decisions reached at this meeting.

The DSK leader strongly condemend actions by the police, calling them "penal expeditions" aimed at provoking the Albanian people en masse. Zenun Celjaj, secretary of the Kosovo Human Rights Committee, even offered "proof" that what happened yesterday in the village of Palatna, near Podujevo, was in fact "a well-planned police [word indistinct]." He showed a photocopy of so-called codes and "a list of villages due for (police) intervention," as well as photographs "taken after the confrontation between the police and local residents." He added that a video also exists, but that he was not able to give it to journalists today. He announced that two Albanians were killed last night in the village of Zajmovo, near Klina, in a confrontation with the police.

Rugova also announced that in smaller places in Kosovo, separate classes with lectures in the Albanian language would be abolished. Because of this, he claims, 11,500 young Albanians will not be able to enroll in secondary schools. At the same time, in Rugova's words, "the number of schoolchildren attending Serbo-Croat and Turkish lectures has been increased by 150, i.e. by 120 percent."

In connection with his statement in OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo—advocating a conference with Albanians, which has been interpreted as his support for a confederation with Albania—Rugova explained that he talked with the journalist about relations in Yugoslavia and the position of Albanians in view of "their aspiration toward being excluded from a federation-confederation. We did not talk about Albania, and in any case, it is not a confederation," Rugova added.

Non-Albanian Groups Oppose Alliance Registration

LD1409135190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—A number of political parties and associations of Serbs and Montenegrins, Muslims and other nationalities in Kosovo, today strongly condemned the adoption of "the constitution of the Kosovo Republic," assessing such an act as "the extreme expression of a struggle for the breakup of Yugoslavia and the formation of another Albanian state in the Balkans."

In a joint letter sent to the Presidencies of the SFRY and Serbia, they criticize the federal government for allowing the registration of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance

(DSK), which is marked as the "nucleus of the separatist movement." In this way, the letter states, "a war has been proclaimed" on Serbia.

The SFRY Presidency is requested to urgently reexamine the stands of the federal organs in connection with the registration of the DSK, while the Serbian Presidency is requested to "adopt a resolute stand toward the federal organs."

Kosovo LC Attacks Declaration of Kosovo Republic

LD1409211390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The "declaration" of the so-called constitution of the republic of Kosovo represents the crudest attack by Albanian separatists and nationalists on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Serbia and Yugoslavia, today's statement of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium states.

The strategists of this activity, the statement says, are overlooking the historic truth that Kosovo is on the territory of Serbia and that it is a community of the citizens who live there on an equal basis.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium requests that the competent state organs oppose, by all legal means and in the most energetic way, all hostile activities, the statement by the leadership by the Kosovo LC concludes.

Loncar Stresses Need for Kosovo Multiparty Vote

LD1409203990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The [words indistinct] only way to resolve all Yugsolav problems, including ethnic ones, and this means also the problem of Kosovo, Yugoslav Foreign Minsiter Budimir Loncar told a press conference in Copenhagen today. Loncar is on an official visit to Denmark.

Loncar said that the forthcoming multi-party elections will be the most important act in this democratic trend and that the citizens of Kosovo will have a chance to choose their parliament in multi-party elections, and their representatives to the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia.

One cannot look for a solution to the problem of Kosovo outside a marked democratic framework, Loncar underscored, and added that the forming of states on the basis of rights of minorities is unacceptable and contrary to the process of the unification of Europe, as well as the struggle for human rights.

Yugoslavia has minorities in many countries and we do not demand their territorialization, but merely urge the realization of their rights and the preservation of their national identity, Budimir Loncar concluded.

New Serb Party Condemns Kosovo Proclamation

LD1509133190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—At today's founding assembly of the Party of Yugoslavs for Serbia, the party condemned the illegal foundation and proclamation of a so-called republic of Kosovo as a hostile act targeted against the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The Party of Yugoslavs maintains, it stated in a communique, that all citizens of Kosovo and Metohija, and consequently members of the Albanian national minority, can realize their civil and political rights and freedoms, as well as their cultural autonomy in equal conditions, through the existing institutions. Every separatist act therefore deserves condemnation, because it threatens the stability and lives of all people living together in Yugoslavia.

Demos Congratulates Kosovo Constitution Authors

LD1409141290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—On behalf of the Demos [United Opposition] Presidium, Joze Pucnik [its president] congratulated Ibrahim Rugova and "the entire population of Kosovo on their adoption of the Kosovo Republic constitution." The congratulatory message stresses that "this great act represents a spark of light in the difficult struggle of the Albanian population in Kosovo and a new victory for democracy in this part of Europe." We hope, the congratulatory message concludes, "the people of Kosovo finally achieve the status becoming of human beings in Europe in the 20th century so that they can concentrate on work and creativity."

Slovene Party Recognizes Kosovo Constitution

LD1409153990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The Slovene Socialist Party [Socijalisticka Stranka Slovenije—SSS] recognizes "the legitimate and legal act of the Kosovo Assembly and the proclamation of the new Kosovo Constitution," the party announces in a statement today. The party at the smae time calls on "the Slovene republican Assembly to consistently observe its decision not to consent to changes to the federal Constitution until the legally elected Kosovo Assembly passes its judgment on the changes."

The SSS concludes that "the time has come for us to resolutely voice our views about the campaign of terror over the Kosovo population waged by the Serbian Socialist Republic in the name of consistently observing the principles of the law-governed state." In shuting our eyes to the cruel facts about Kosovo we are becoming accomplices to the things happening in the country which is, at least in a formal sense, our common homeland.

Correspondent Views Albanian Situation in Palatna

LD1609222890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Our reporter Sefkiju [name indistinct] now reports on the detention of Albanian delegates, on the campaign of dismissals and on what happened in the village of Palatna near Podujevo following its occupation by Serbian police:

[Reporter] Last week's events in the Kosovo villages of (?Haljabak), [name indistinct], Tranava and Palatna resulting from, as the locals put it, a punitive raid by the Serbian police against the population of this part of Kosovo have given cause for concern and deserve to be condemned. The locals say the Army was also involved. In their official version of the events Serbian authorities have tried to justify the conduct of the Serbian Police toward the Albanian population by insisting that the Albanians have been implicated in arms smuggling. On the other hand, the Albanians have categorically denied this claim. They say that when raiding their homes Serbian policemen first wanted to know if the occupants had joined the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije], if they had any foreign currency hidden in the house and only then did they ask about the weapons.

According to Zenun (?Cima), the secretary of Pristina-based Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, a so-called blitz raid was carried out on the village of Palatna in which two young Albanians were killed by the Serbian police while a number of people were detained in the Internal Affairs Secretariat where they, and members of the Ljatifi family in particular, were tortured. (Cima) also claimed some of the policemen were under the influence of alcohol. The people of Palatna claim the action of the Serbian police was taken in revenge. According to them 13 years ago an Albanian murdered a Serb after a squabble between their children. That this was an act of revenge is borne out by the fact that on the evening the two young men were killed by the Serbian police music could be heard from some of the Serbian houses in the village throughout the night, the Ljatifi family and other villagers say. [passage omitted]

Democrats Nominate Prince for Serbian President

LD1609145890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—The chief council of the Democratic Party has placed the name of Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic forward to be president of the Republic of Serbia.

The explanation behind this decision, made at yesterday's session of the this party's chief council, says that "Serbia needs peace and calm. Never and nowhere are extremes the basis of social peace."

The Democratic Party chief council maintains that "Prince Karadjordjevic, as the republic's president, would contribute, more than anyone else, to the national reconciliation of Serbs and the overcoming of all their schisms" as well as to the abandonment of the Bolshevik reputation forced upon Serbia and the Serbian nation. The statement by the chief council expects the Assembly of Serbia to enable Prince Tomislav to return to the country and take part in the election.

Cite Chance for 'Reconciliation'

LD1609155490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—The central board of the Democratic Party, one of some thirty opposition parties in Serbia, has proposed Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic for President of the Yugoslav Republic.

Tomislav Karadjordjevic is the brother of Yugoslavia's last king Peter the Second, ousted after the triumph of the communist revolution at the end of World War Two.

An elaboration of the decision of the Democratic Party sets out that Prince Tomislav, as president of the republic, would "more than anyone else contribute to the national reconciliation of Serbs and to overcoming all splits," and also abolishing the imposed Bolshevism on Serbia and the Serbian people.

The board's statement expressed the expectation that the Serbian parliament will make it possible for Prince Tomislav to return to the country in order to take part in the elections.

Prince Tomislav has been living in England since 1939 but never changed his citizenship. He does not possess a Yugoslav passport, nor one from any other country but a refugee passport which he received under a United Nations decision, the local press has set out.

Muslim Rights Group Issues Protest Declarations

LD1409214290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The Forum To Protect the Individual and Traditional Rights of Muslims sent two protest notes today.

One was to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia expressing disapproval with "the serious deterioration in the position of the Muslims of the Sandzak, the frequent violation of human rights and the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the Muslim nation in Sankzak," as well as, the statement stresses, with the complete absence of the state protection of these rights.

In a second statement, sent to the SFRY Presidency, the Forum To Protect the Rights of Muslims "protests the criminal state repression in Kosovo, which consists of the illegal suspension of all civil rights guaranteed in the SFRY Constitution and of the crude violation of the human rights of Albanians guaranteed in international treaties ratified by Yugoslavia."

Also on the extensive list of the protests the Forum To Protect Muslims addresses the SFRY Presidency (requesting the resignation of the Federal Executive Council unless it takes urgent measures to protect the rights of Albanians and to create the conditions for the peaceful life of all citizens in Kosovo) is "the unjustified application of brute force, the multifarious acts of violence, and the overstepping of authority in carrying out official duties which remain unpunished; the creation of unemployment among thousands of workers; the prevention of Albanian children from attending school, and the unexplained mass poisoning of Albanian children..."

Serbian Opposition Protests Lack of Office Space

LD1409210590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The joint Serbian opposition held a second press conference today outdoors, continuing unsuccessfully to request access to state buildings or those owned by the Socialist Alliance or rather by the former League of Communists. The direct reason for the meeting of the leaders of the six parties on the steps of the Executive Council of Serbia is a letter which was sent to them by the government offering the opposition the use only of rooms in the Mose Pijade local community and at 30 Nemanja Street.

A special letter by Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Executive Council, saying that this is not a case of a lack of good will but of the impossibility of the government making available its rooms for the use of the various political parties, was greeted with protests from the opposition. Milenko Radic, secretary of the Radical Party, used this situation to claim that there is in fact no desire to resolve the problem of office space for the parties, nor the issue of their financing.

A government, which does not want to reply to questions from the opposition, is not really a democratic government, Kosta Cavoski, a representative of the Democratic Party, told journalists who had gathered, adding that key demands by the opposition like the one that the preelection campaign should last at least three months, have not been approved either.

Other party representatives today agreed that the concessions made by the government so far are only minimal, although the opposition has sought only what was realistic, not wanting to exacerbate relations. Vojislav Kostunica of the Democratic Party thus said that the opposition would in the end resort to an ultimatum and a democratic one at that, the final outcome of which would be a boycott of the elections.

The next press conference, it was said today, will be held on 19 September in front of the building of the Social Accounting Service of Serbia, where a reply is expected to the question concerning the property of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the state of the accounts of that political organization.

Croat Police Prevent Serb Rally in Jasenovac

LD1609202590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Bosanksa Dubica, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—A commemorative rally in Jasenovac, near the memorial to victims of Ustasha crimes during the last war, was prevented today by the action of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Croatia.

Strong units of the Internal Affairs of Croatia blocked all approaches and the bridge between Gradina on the Bosnian side and Jasenovac itself, on the territory of Croatia, which those taking part in the rally of the mass assembly of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka] in Bosnia-Hercegovina wanted to reach in order to attend the ceremonies.

Mesic Says Croatia 'Not Considering Secession'

LD1409112590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0952 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia is not considering secession from Yugoslavia, former Croatian Prime Minister and Yugoslav state Presidency member-to-be Stipe Mesic said in an interview to the Belgrade daily BORBA today.

"The Croatian nation, as well as all other Yugoslav nations, has joined the common state voluntarily," Mesic said.

He rejected the need to bring a special federal law recognizing the nations' right to self-determination until secession, since this is a sovereign and unalienable right. Such a law would be an attempt to drive Croatia away from Yugoslavia, Mesic believes.

Croatia has prepared working documents, not yet verified, proposing a confederation modelled after the European Community, which would provide for Yugoslavia's easier inclusion in Europe, Mesic recalled.

Mesic expressed optimism regarding a "democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis." He believes that a state community with which everyone would be satisfied and with which Europe would also be satisfied can be arranged through a democratic, well-argumented dialogue.

Croat Albanian Leader Profiled, Interviewed

AU1709071690 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 90 p 10

[Report on interview with Tome Berisha, president of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia, by Dino Mikulandra; place and date not given: "Gandhian Resistance to Violence"]

[Excerpts] Tome Berisha, president of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia, a political party founded in Zagreb at the beginning of this year, has been

living in the capital city of Croatia for 45 years. As a young officer he entered the Military-Technical Academy and obtained his doctorate in "Rocket Engines in Military Technology." In 1980, he retired as a lecturer at this institution with the rank of colonel. He continued his academic activities at Zagreb and Pristina Universities until the emergence of pluralism in Croatia, when he was elected leader of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia. Our party, Tome Berisha said at the beginning of our conversation, was founded because of the need to embed Albanians as citizens and of this republic into the modern social, cultural, and political transformation of Croatia following the end of the rule of the monistic-statist system. We strive for a free, sovereign, independent, and democratic state community, we demand the total legal and political equality of all citizens, the dignity of every individual, and the safety of property, irrespective of people's national and religious affiliations or their sex.

At present the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia has about 30,000 members, including its branches in Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik, Sibenik, Slavonski Brod, Pula, Rovinj....[passage omitted]

Brutal Politics

[Mikulandra] From the rally held in the Zagreb Student Center this week you sent a telegram to the Albanians in Kosovo. You promised them aid until the final victory, you asked them to persist.... How do you perceive events in the province from here in Zagreb?

[Berisha] The whole world knows that Kosovo is today under the occupation of the Serbian military regime. The Serbian authorities suspended the legally elected assembly with an illegal decision, thus ignoring the will of 90 percent of the population. The Serbian security forces are, on the one hand, continuously provoking an armed uprising by Albanians, while, on the other hand, the administration is zealously dismissing all non-Serbians from work. Because of this brutal policy many families have found themselves on the subsistence level. Albanians are practically starving. This is why we have here initiated a general humanitarian action of collecting aid in food, medicines, and money. In this way we are trying to draw the attention of the public in Croatia, Slovenia, as well as in Europe and the United States....

[Mikulandra] There have also been solidarity actions in the past but the aid did not always get to the Albanians....

[Berisha] Yes, the fact is that the authorities are trying to forcefully pilfer all aid sent from outside. The police has even started seizing medicine from churches, but we will manage. This time we will not repeat the mistake which we made when we paid money to the account of the Stari Trg miners....[passage omitted]

[Mikulandra] If it is not a secret, could you tell us where your concrete information about the situation in Kosovo comes from? Are you in touch with the leaders of Albanian alternative parties, Rugova, Agani, Maliqi...?

[Berisha] Our party is in constant touch with the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo. I talk to Ibrahim Rugova at least once a day. I also talk to other leading members of the Kosovo Alternative. In fact, we jointly coordinate actions, we discuss all public appearances. For example, recently there was a duel between Dobrica Cosic and a group of Serbian priests and the leaders of the Albanian Alternative in a U.S. congressional committee. Members of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatian were also present. You probably read about it in the newspapers. We almost did not have to say a thing. The other side came with such an avalanche of unjustified hatred that it was clear to everybody who really was being threatened in Kosovo....

[Mikulandra] The increasingly vociferous view among some Albanians is that the Serbian repressive regime should be opposed by a more energetic resistance. They allegedly think that the relaxation in March of last year, during the adoption of amendments, led to the current dismantling of autonomy?

[Berisha] Using the Croatian political terminology one could say that in the ranks of Albanians there are hawks. Such views are not surprising when it is known that people in Kosovo are being arrested, provoked, and deliberately mistreated without reason, that the media is blocked, that people are taken in the middle of the night for "informal talks," that even doctors have been kicked out in the street.... You know, this terror is becoming almost intolerable, but, on the whole, people have confidence in the leaders of Albanian parties. People are aware that thousands of militiamen with automatic rifles and numerous armored vehicles cannot wait for an armed resistance in order to present Albanians as terrorists. Of course, patience cannot last forever. A few days ago, for example, special militiamen entered a village near Podujevo. They stormed houses looking for weapons. People protested and the policemen had to eventually withdraw. Generally speaking we are in favor of democracy, dialogue, and peaceful cohabitation with all citizens. Albanians will certainly do their best to avoid bloodshed. They will put up the Gandhian resistance to violence as long as this is possible. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

We are interested in a dynamic development of cultural ties with Albania. We belong to the same people, speak the same language, and share the same historic path. For us, however, the state borders exist and we will respect them in accordance with the existing Constitution and laws. Our wish is that these borders do not completely separate Kosovo from Albania because we all have relatives and friends in Tirana. I personally expect that democratization will soon take place in Albania. I believe that some individuals in the government are ready for that. However, it is difficult to penetrate all blockades in the conscience and structure of a inveterately conservative system. True, this regime could be overthrown with a mass movement, with a scenario that

has already been seen in Romania, but as an Albanian in Yugoslavia, I do not want my compatriots to go through a bloody revolution, I want a democratic revolution. However, I do not believe that this will be the case.

Montenegro Approves Constitutional Amendments

LD1409161590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Titograd, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly approved the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution at today's joint session of all the chambers.

The delegates found the constitutional amendments allowed for the introduction of radical changes in the socioeconomic and political system and were a prerequisite to overcoming the crisis.

They also said the provisions of the amendments referring to ownership relations, the freedom of citizens, and the political system had been fully incorporated in the republican Constitution at the July session of the Montenegrain Assembly.

Montenegrin Parties Want Preelection 'Equality'

AU1609181990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 90 p 3

["S.V."signed report: "They Want Equality"]

[Text] Titograd—Six political parties in Montenegro have sent a letter to the Assembly of Montenegro and the republican Executive Council asking these institutions to ensure that legality and constitutionality are respected and that all forms of political extremism and endangerment of citizens' peace and security are prevented during the preelection period leading to the multiparty elections. The appeal by the Socialist Party, the Yugoslav People's Party, the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, the Party of Socialists of Montenegro, the Democratic Alternative, and the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative asks the authorities to both legally and practically depoliticize the work process, state services, and the media and ensure the full equality of political parties in the public information media.

Montenegrin Assembly Appoints New Secretary

LD1409153890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Summary] Titograd, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly today accepted the resignation of Development Secretary Bogdan Cosovic, the fifth minister to leave the Montenegrin Cabinet. The Assembly appointed Dr. Luka Vujosevic the new republican secretary for education, science, and physical culture.

100,000 Attend SDA Rally in Velika Kladusa

AU1509155890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Velika Kladusa]

[Text] The preelection campaign officially began today in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The most important in a number of preelection meetings was held in Velika Kladusa where Fikret Abdic, head of Agrokomerc, became a member of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]. Ljubomir Nikolic reports from Velika Kladusa:

[Begin Nikolic recording] So many people have never before gathered together in one place in this region; there were more than 100,000. The meeting was attended by supporters of the SDA from the [word indistinct] region, various regions of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Sandzak, other parts of the country, and abroad.

The festive decorations were dominated today by the party's promotional flag in green and white with a crescent moon. [Word indistinct] there was no state flag on the festive rostrum, only new party symbols.

Speaking about the future structure of Yugoslavia, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the SDA, was more specific than he has ever been. We are telling everyone to keep their hands off of Bosnia. There are only three possible alternatives as regards its position: As part of a federal or confederal Yugoslavia, or as an independent state. Otherwise, there is the threat of civil war here. If Croatia and Slovenia secede from Yugoslavia, we will not remain in the remnants of the country, in a greater Serbia—we will be independent, Izetbegovic stressed. He added that the Muslim people will defend Bosnia-Hercegovina with arms, and this is no joke.

He stressed that the SDA does not want either an Islamic nor a socialist Bosnia-Hercegovina, but a bourgeois republic, and called on Serbs and Croats to join the Muslims in setting up such a state.

The leader of the SDA spoke for the first time about the party's economic program. Instead of blood, sweat, and tears, which the present politicians have been offering, we are asking for sweat, expertise, and money, Izetbegovic said. He announced the creation of 50,000 small businesses, the use of foreign capital, the construction of a Samac highway to the sea, and the revival of Agrokomerc. According to Alija Izetbegovic, the Sandzak must be given cultural autonomy, and there is only a democratic solution for Kosovo.

As for the SDA's foreign policy, when the party achieves power—which is something that Izetbegovic and other parties supporters do not have any doubts about whatsoever—they will be committed to cooperation with Europe and Islamic countries.

After being welcomed by tumultuous applause, Fikret Abdic then spoke. Assessing the support that the SDA had extended to Agrokomerc, the openness of the party's

program, and the unanimous will of its members, I am from now on a member of the SDA, Fikret Abdic said. He expressed the conviction that the party will adopt his financial rescue program and provide all resources for it to be implemented.

15,000 Attend LC Rally in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1609202390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1901 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Brcko, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—The territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be a testing ground for a mutual settling of scores between political forces outside the republic. This was said this evening at a national meeting in Brcko—attended by more than 15,000 citizens—by Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Changes, in connection with the presentation of this party's program.

"Our republic is not neutral", Durakovic added, "nor is it indifferent to what is happening in Yugoslavia. We forcefully request that political parties from other republis stop causing disquiet, conflict, and intolerance among the citizens and people of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

In conclusion, Durakovic said: "We are against the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina being an area of militarization, for the testing of war threats, and the formation of so-called voluntary military units."

Durakovic Most Popular Bosnian Politician

AU1609200690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 90 p 10

["E.D."-signed report: "Nijaz in Front of Ante"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The Sarajevo public opinion research agency, Sigma, yesterday issued the results of a survey which was carried out among 600 inhabitants of Bosnia-Hercegovina according to the Gallup method and taking into account all relevant criteria (sex, age, nationality, occupation, and region). The survey included, among other things, the question: Which party and individual will you vote for in the struggle for power and for the highest post in the Republic at the upcoming first multiparty elections? No answer was given by 227 respondents (37.83 percent) and the other 373 (62.17 percent) were "divided" in the following way: 127 (21.17 percent) would vote for the communists; 92 (15.33 percent) for the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia, (not the Alliance of Reform Forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina); 56 (9.33 percent) for the Party of Democratic Action (a Muslim party); 43 (7.17 percent) for the Croatian Democratic Community; 27 (4.50 percent) for the Serbian Democratic Party; 19 (3.17 percent) for the other leftist forces (the Party of Yugoslavs, the Social Democrats, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Greens, and so forth); five (0.83) for the Democratic Socialist Alliance [Demokratski Socijalisticki Savez]; and four (0.67 percent) for the Socialist Youth Federation-Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to this survey, in the "individuals' competition," by far the most popular person at this moment is Dr. Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina-Social Democratic Party, who received 44 percent of the responses. He was followed by: Ante Markovic (14.55), Alija Izetbegovic (7.46), Dr. Davor Perinovic (5.97), Dr. Radovan Karadzic (4.85), Dr. Nenad Kecmanovic (4.10), Adil Zulfikarpasic (2.98), Dr. Zdravko Grebo (2.60), Fikret Abdic (2.00), Dr. Dzemal Sokolovic (1.00), and Nazif Gljiva, Goran Bregovic, and Dr. Muhamed Filipovic with 0.92 percent of the responses each. Dr. Krstan Malesevic and Dr. Mirko Pejanovic each received two responses while the following received one apiece: Dr. Gajo Sekulic, Nikola Krizanac, Zeljko Rebac, Slobodan Milosevic, Rasim Kadic, Miro Lasic, Desimir Medjovic, Halid Beslic, Safet Isovic, Perica Juric, Momcilo Mijatovic, and Safet Susic.

Serb Council for Intra-Party Cooperation Founded

LD1409113790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—In Sarajevo a group of prominent Serbian intellectuals, academicians, university professors, and public personalities has founded the Council for Interparty Cooperation affiliated to the Serbian Democratic party [SDS] for Bosnia-Hercegovina. The council members are not obliged to belong to the SDS.

The main task of this advisory body, as stressed at the first meeting, is to forge cooperation with other parties and social organizations in Bosnia-Hercegovina aimed at preserving federal Yugoslavia, securing civil peace, preventing intranational conflcits, and creating political presuppositions for democratic elections.

Professor Dr. Nikola Koljevic was elected chairman of the council and author Miroslav Toholj was appointed vice-chairman.

Commentary Views Possible National Configuration

AU1709085390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 90 p 2

[Veselin Simonovic commentary: " A Dearth of Negotiators"]

[Text] Members of the highest state leadership—the SFRY Presidency—seem to agree on only one thing: Anything is possible. This conclusion could also be drawn from the television appearance by Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency since, as he put it, all possible forms of the future structure of Yugoslavia are placed equally on the table— federation, confederation, a combination of the two models, and, by golly,

secession. Nothing more could have been expected from the federal Presidency at the moment, nor should anymore be demanded. They have finally said publicly that all options are possible and this is quite sufficient to begin, as President Jovic himself put it, "calm talks" on the denouement of the political crisis, or put in a better way, on the future of Yugoslavia. One of the main conditions has therefore been met, but some others are lacking, which are contained in the question—who could be a negotiator for a confederation or some third option, and when?

The president of the Presidency even offered a referendum as one of the solutions, and this is something that cannot be criticized. Such decisions—concerning for example the relations between states, secession, and so forth—should not be made by the "democratic," and even less by the communist authorities in any republic without a referendum to test the citizens' attitude. Dr. Jovic was not, however, sufficiently precise regarding what kind of referendum this should be, but it could be concluded indirectly from some of his responses, which is the only way which will not cause added complications, that this involves republican referendums.

It is now quite clear what the stands are of the individual governments in the republics concerning these issues, but it is quite uncertain what they will be like in a few months time, at least in some republics. It is also difficult to imagine that the governments of all the republics could at this time meet around the same negotiating table. The main role of the federal Presidency would have to in fact be in this, with one qualification: Would there now be any point at all in gathering the republican heads around the same table? It can freely be said that almost everyone sets for everyone else ultimatums and conditions under which they want to negotiate. Thus, the Slovene Government has—to judge by a statement by its president, Lojze Peterle—found yet another equal negotiating partner in Yugoslavia, apart from the Croatian leadership. It found him in the shape of the federal prime minister, Ante Markovic. Peterle wants to talk only to the president of the Federal Executive Council on the future of Yugoslavia and the confederal agreement which Slovenia and Croatia will most probably jointly offer the rest of the country. This surprise about-face in Slovene views is perhaps welcome, but it is lacking in all manner of things.

First of all, let us recall that the cabinet of president Tudjman is at the moment preparing the Croatian version of a confederal agreement, and the Slovene Government has also prepared its own view of a confederation. The drafts of these documents have already been changed by the leaderships of these two republics together and they will try to finally come to a common version. Dr. Joze Pucnik, president of the Slovene ruling Demos [United Opposition] coalition, announced that Slovenia and Croatia will have reached an agreement by the end of the year and that if possible they will be joined by Bosnia- Hercegovina too at the beginning of next. Since federal Prime Minister Markovic and his party enjoy most confidence in this republic, it could happen that after the elections he really could be an equal partner in negotiations on a confederal agreement. The fact that Croatia is also seriously counting on Bosnia-Hercegovina—probably with different calculations—is shown by the replacement of the leader of the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina. His sin was obviously not his "impure blood," but the fact that he had tried to conduct an autonomous policy in the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Let us return to the about-face in Slovene views. It is no secret that the new Slovene authorities had until recently discounted the federation and its organs as a possible negotiator on a confederation of Yugoslav states. Therefore, the question arises of why it now wants to discuss this only with the Federal Executive Council and Croatia. Answers can be found in the fact that elections have not yet been carried out in other republics and it would be pointless to negotiate with someone who could lose power in a few months time. The same could however be said for the Federal Executive Council because who can guarantee that Ante's party will win after the federal parliamentary elections. The transformation obviously lies in some third element: the recognition of the Federal Executive Council as an equal negotiating partner has been imposed by the reputation it enjoys abroad.

There is no doubt that a confederal agreement cannot be reached by Croatia, Slovenia, and the Federal Executive Council and that the legitimate representatives of the authorities in all Yugoslav republics must find themselves around the same table. If the present authorities in Slovenia and Croatia do not want to negotiate with the present leaderships in the other republics, then even the debate on confederation will have to wait—at least until multiparty elections in the rest of Yugoslavia. Whether the words of the recognized negotiating partner—federal Prime Minister Markovic—addressed to the Slovene leadership that an orientation taken in advance for a confederation or federation sounds scholastic and that such a prior orientation could halt the necessary changes, will fall on deaf ears, remains to be seen.

Interior Affairs Bodies Discuss Public Peace

LD1409163190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—It is the duty of the internal affairs bodies to ensure public order and peace and the security of persons and property for all citizens regardless of their national and religious affiliation. This is stressed in the statement issued at a meeting between the federal secretary for internal affairs and officials of internal affairs bodies in the republics and provinces. The statement reads:

Today a meeting was held in Belgrade between Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin and the republican and provincial secretaries for internal affairs

and the minister for internal affairs of the republic of Croatia. The security situation in the country and the tasks of organs of internal affairs in the coming period were considered at the meeting.

It was acknowledged that there is an increasingly tense atmosphere, uncertainty and fear among citizens sparked off by recent developments, particularly by instances of interethnic confrontation which are assuming an ever more dramatic form and emerging as the dominant characteristic of the security situation at the moment. It is the duty of internal affairs bodies to ensure public order and peace and security of persons and property for all the country's citizens, regardless of their national and religious affiliation, and to thwart those practices that could result in tragic consequences.

Also acknowledged was the necessity for all the security bodies and services in the SFRY to further develop their mutual cooperation and information-sharing. It was concluded that one ought to persevere in this respect for the principles of law within the work of internal affairs bodies as well as in enforcing consistently the laws, decisions, and stances of the SFRY's leading state organs.

19 Albanians Successfully Cross Border; 1 Killed

AU1409151390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 90 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Fleeing Over Shkoder Lake"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs announced yesterday that 19 citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania fled to the territory of the SFRY, the region of the Shkoder Lake, by an Army boat and a speedboat on Tuesday [11 September] at about 1430 [1230 GMT].

Among others, an officer, two soldiers, and three minors were among the fugitives. During the escape, Albanian border guards opened fire on the boats and a four-year old girl, Anisa Gruda, was killed. An investigation is under way.

Raskovic Announces Visit to United States

AU1609194490 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 90 p 16

[Unattributed report: "Raskovic Seeks United States Help"]

[Text] Frankfurt—Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, said in an interview for DEUTSCHE WELLE radio that, in a conversation with Warren Zimmermann, United States ambassador in Yugoslavia, he had asked for the United States Congress to send a commission to Croatia to investigate "what real democracy is like in Croatia and what the real position of Serbs in Croatia is." Dr. Raskovic said that the United States ambassador had promised him that he would immediately pass on his request and even asked to immediately go to the Knin region himself.

To the Serbs in the United States

The president of the Serbian Democratic Party announced that he will soon be going to visit Serbs in the United States, where he will stay for 10 to 15 days. He expects that he will be helped by Mrs. Bentley, member of the United States Congress, and Mr. Zimmermann to appear before the United States Senate to tell them "what the situation is like in Croatia, what Tudjman means, what his democracy means for the Serbian people in Croatia and what kind of lies the Croatian leaders have leaked to Europe and the world."

Speaking about the character of the recent referendum among the Serbian people in Croatia, Dr. Raskovic said that this was in fact a survey of the attitude of the Serbian people to autonomy, a kind of "conditional autonomy" if Yugoslavia were to stay the way it is.

He added that this autonomy should have its own area which would occupy the area of the Serbian community of communes. "However, if federal states are set up, we will ask for both political and territorial autonomy because this will guarantee us security from the Croatian state which—as can be seen even today—would be particularly Croato-centric in the case of a confederation." Dr. Jovan Raskovic once again stressed that Serbs in Croatia are in favor of the sovereignty of the Serbian national entity in Croatia and will recognize only this sovereignty.